
The American Review

on the

SOVIET UNION

Vol. IV

April, 1941

No. 1

THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA

Folk Motives in Soviet Poetry - - - - - *Alexander Kaun*

Constitutions of the Baltic Republics - - - - - *I. Trainin*

Soviet Criminal Psychiatry - - - - - *Nathan Berman*

also

Book Reviews Documents News Chronology

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TO OUR READERS

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HARRIET MOORE, *Editor*

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CHINESE-SOVIET RELATIONS

By

HARRIET MOORE

The action of the Chungking government in attempting to suppress by armed force the Fourth Route Army has brought a real change in the Far Eastern situation. It legalizes the civil warfare which during most of 1940 had been taking place in the form of local sniping at the communist forces, without official sanction of the central government, and it has come perilously close to destroying the united front of anti-Japanese resistance which has successfully held at bay the invading forces. Will it convert the unpublicized suspension of activity along most of the front which has existed for the last year into an official truce between Chungking and Japan? What effect would such a truce have on Soviet-Chinese relations?

The only Soviet comment that has been received in this country since the present difficulties assumed serious proportions was the reprint from the Soviet press of a Chungking TASS dispatch (Jan. 28, 1941) which stated that the attack on the Fourth Route Army had caused "great alarm in various patriotic strata of Chinese society. . . . These circles expressed the opinion that these events are the beginning of a big operation for the liquidation of not only the Fourth, but also the Eighth Army. They affirm this would mean the development of a civil war, which could only weaken China."¹ It was also reported in the American press that the Soviet Ambassador to China, Paniushkin, urged the Chungking government to take steps to avert civil war, as did the British and American Ambassadors.

Recently there have been several Soviet actions which stressed the continuity of their former relations to Chungking: On December 5, the Soviet Ambassador to Tokyo told Japan that Soviet policy in regard to Chungking remained unchanged² and in December and January three supplementary trade agreements were negotiated between the two countries. The question may well be raised, how-

¹ *New York Times*, January 28, 1941.

² *Pravda*, December 5, 1940.

ever, as to the possibility of such relations continuing to exist if the cessation of anti-Japanese effort becomes official policy, as a corollary to Chungking's participation in military campaigns against the Communist forces.

Such situations have existed before in China and it may prove useful to survey Soviet-Chinese relations over the years for the sake of comparison, as well as to point out the new elements in the Far Eastern situation.

Chinese-Soviet relations were first established in 1924 with the Peking government on the basis of equal rights and Soviet renunciation of special privileges held by Tsarist Russia and other foreign powers. At the same period Dr. Sun Yat-sen had urged cooperation with the Soviets in efforts to free China from domination by the imperialist powers, just as he had been effective in making possible the participation of Chinese Communists in his Kuomintang. It was at that time that the Soviet government was invited to send advisers to the Kuomintang and the nationalist movement arising in Canton. This collaboration lasted through the first years when the precarious united front of right and left wing nationalists successfully established its hold over south and central China, as the prelude to final victory of the Kuomintang as the central government.³

With the collapse of the Chinese united front in 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek finally broke with the Communists, there also came a period of anti-Soviet provocations all over China, from the 1926 attempt by Chang Tso-lin, Manchurian warlord, to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway (C.E.R.) to the raid on the Soviet Embassy in Peking and the assassination of the Soviet Consul in Canton in December, 1927. To all intents and purposes, Soviet-Chinese relations ceased to exist at this time, although officially the USSR did not consider them broken until 1929, when the second attempt was made on the railroad. As will be remembered, this attack on the C.E.R., accompanied as well by border incidents, led to actual armed conflict at the end of that year.

³ For a summary account of Soviet-Chinese relations in these years, see Fischer. Louis, *The Soviets in World Affairs*, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, New York. 1930, Vol. II.

JAPAN'S MANCHURIAN WAR

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September, 1931, found China and the Soviet Union still trying to work out a satisfactory settlement of the railroad issue, with a view to China's possible purchase of the Soviet rights. Diplomatic relations had not been restored. The rapid advance of the Japanese northward invasion raised new issues for the USSR, as the C.E.R. was soon in the area of combat and it was not long—about eight months—before border incidents were occurring. The Soviets declared their strict neutrality in the conflict, though their comment both on the course of the fight and on the League of Nations' efforts to cope with the situation through dispatching a Commission of Inquiry, the Lytton Commission, clearly placed their sentiments on record as condemning the infringement of Chinese sovereignty.

In this period there was no question of aid to China because the Chinese governments, both Manchurian and Central, were making little or no concerted effort to resist the invader. For the Soviets, therefore, the problem was essentially the regulation of its relations with Japan and to this end it offered a non-aggression pact in December, 1931, an offer renewed on subsequent occasions. The Soviets declined to take part in the Lytton Commission investigations: "First, because we did not believe in the honesty and consistency of the governments participating in these actions and primarily, because we did not seek, nor do we now seek, armed conflict with Japan."⁴ By 1933, with the Tangku Truce, all official Chinese resistance ceased and the Nanking government agreed to cooperate in suppressing anti-Japanese movements.

In the four-year interval before the Lukouchiao incident which touched the match to the war fuse in China, Soviet relations in the Far East had the two-fold aspect of trying to adjust relations with Japan and its new puppet Manchoukuo and at the same time, through Geneva or otherwise, to stimulate international cooperation to prevent further encroachment on China. In the first category fall the turbulent negotiations from 1933 to 1935 to effect the sale of the C.E.R.; the efforts to redemarcate border lines in order to

⁴ Litvinov, M., *Vneshniaia Politika SSSR*, Moscow, 1936, pp. 71-73.

eliminate the pretexts for border incidents; negotiations over the fisheries and Sakhalin Concessions. On the other side, the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the USSR in 1933 and Soviet admission to the League in 1934 at last made it possible for the Soviets to participate on a basis of equality in the international discussion on Far Eastern affairs.

During the interval between 1933 and 1937 China on three occasions protested Soviet action as being in contravention of the 1924 treaties and agreements. Two protests related to the sale of the C.E.R. and one to the Mutual Assistance Pact with the Mongol People's Republic in 1936. Both actions, the Chinese held, ignored Chinese sovereignty. Moscow replied that in the case of the C.E.R. it had even in 1924 been forced to make an agreement with local Manchurian officials, subsequently ratified by the Central Chinese Government, because the latter did not exercise *de facto* control. The sale to Manchoukuo was in the same category. As to relations with the Mongol People's Republic, the USSR reaffirmed its recognition of Chinese sovereignty over Outer Mongolia and claimed that the new agreement in no way affected the previous interrelations among the three governments, and further that it was in the interests of both the Mongolian and the Chinese peoples.⁵

In this period, one of the most significant facts to be noted was that Soviet support for the Chinese cause at Geneva was unfailing and was gratefully acknowledged by the Chinese delegates at the same time that the Nanking government was engaged in its famous campaigns against the Chinese Communists which finally forced the Chinese Red Army to seek refuge in northwest China.

JAPAN'S ADVANCE INTO CHINA IN 1937

The renewal of Japan's advance into China proper in the summer of 1937 brought closer relations between China and the Soviet Union. As in December, 1932, the war had impelled the Chinese to renew diplomatic relations with Moscow, so now they were led to sign a non-aggression pact with the USSR, which had been proposed by Moscow as early as 1932. Soviet support for Chinese resistance, material as well as diplomatic, became increasingly impor-

⁵ Note of April 8, 1936. Cf. *Moscow Daily News*, April 9, 1936.

tant, although problems of transport have always been serious. China's acknowledgment of this aid and its reiterated pleas for closer cooperation between the Western Powers and the USSR in making their aid really effective have characterized the second period in the Sino-Japanese War.

In looking back over the different phases of the Far Eastern conflict, certain patterns of Soviet policy can be observed. From the outset, it has maintained that Japan was in the wrong, that China had the right to national independence. It has offered assistance in whatever form possible to the powers of resistance within China, but it has assiduously ignored provocations which might involve it in war against Japan. While insisting on its rights and ready to fight to defend its borders and those of the Mongol People's Republic under the 1936 assistance pact, Moscow has been prepared to negotiate on all problems arising in its relations with Japan.

The nature of the correlation between close Soviet-Chinese relations and the existence of a united front in China is a question of immediate concern. As pointed out above, Chiang Kai-shek's government first turned to the Soviets in 1932, after refusing since 1929 the Soviet offer of renewed relations. In the opinion of one foreign commentator, the change of heart resulted from China's "loss of faith in salvation through the League of Nations and . . . the inexorable necessity of finding for China some 'very present help' in the sore trouble of Japanese aggression."⁶ Yet the new relations bore little fruit until the truce between the Kuomintang and Chinese Communists made possible the united front of resistance to the Japanese attack in 1937. Then, the twin result was that China sought outside aid, including Soviet, and that the USSR had for the first time since 1931 an effective channel through which to aid the movement for Chinese independence. That Soviet assistance has gone to the Chungking Government and not the Eighth Route Army now seems to be established. The reasons are obvious enough. A unified China is regarded by Moscow as the most effective instrument for resistance and the Soviets, for strategic and political reasons, want Chinese resistance to succeed in establishing Chinese independence. Sending aid directly to Chungking deprived those

⁶ Toynbee, A., *Survey of International Affairs*, 1932. Oxford University Press, p. 417.

ever-present anti-Soviet elements in the Chungking government of any grounds for accusing the Soviets of favoring the Communist section of the united front. It underscored Soviet interest in Chinese unity.

Today the question arises for all powers aiding the Chungking government: has the united front been destroyed and will supplies delivered to Chungking be used for civil war instead of defense against Japan? Can Chungking fight both the Communists and the Japanese or is civil war a prelude to peace with Japan? While of course no final answer to these questions can be attempted, nor is there available any expression of the current Soviet view of the latest developments, it is useful to point up some of the aspects of the situation which may serve as clues to future events.

Piecing together the news which has come from various Chinese sources, the picture is somewhat as follows.⁷ During 1940 there was an almost complete cessation of hostilities in China. Both sides were temporarily exhausted and Japan began to look elsewhere for more profitable loot. The economic position in China became increasingly difficult and morale was weakening. To some the situation looked hopeless, to others the possibilities of a deal with Japan looked inviting. Moreover, to those who had never been reconciled to cooperation with the Communists, the growing strength and prestige of the Eighth and new Fourth Route Armies were alarming.

The defeatist mood engendered in all these groups was further aggravated by developments having their origin in the European war. The closing of the Burma Road was a terrible shock to those who had looked to the Western Powers for aid. Even though effective assistance in loans or materials had been disappointingly meager up to that time, the hope persisted of extensive help from London and more especially from Washington. A second factor was the growing prestige of Germany, following its spectacular victories in the spring. Germany had long had a strong influence in certain groups in China. Its advisers had built up the army, its merchants had been helpful in the early stages of the war before the Axis

⁷ For detailed account, see A. L. Strong, "The Kuomintang-Communist Crisis in China," *Amerasia*, March, 1941.

agreements came into force. Now Germany offered hopes of acting as benevolent mediator to attain a fairly favorable truce with Japan—its close partner in the new tri-partite Axis agreement. For Germany it was not so useful to have Japan bogged down in China instead of free to harass the main Axis foes. The Chinese Communists charge that the groups responsible for the present civil strife are now seeking an agreement with Japan, through the good offices of Germany, based on Japanese withdrawal from central and southern China, plus cooperative action between Chinese and Japanese troops against the Eighth and Fourth Route Armies.⁸ To avert the collapse of the united front the Communists have put forward twelve demands including the removal and punishment of those responsible for the attack on the Fourth Route Army and of the pro-Japanese groups in Chungking, many of whom have long histories of foreign intrigue, as for instance, Ho Ying-chin, the present Minister of War. Another point of interest is the demand for the release of Chang Hsueh-liang whose followers (the armies driven from Manchuria by the Japanese and assigned by Chiang Kai-shek to fight the Communists in north China) were responsible for the Sian kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek in 1936 which was the prelude to the formation of the anti-Japanese united front. The other points in the Communist demands concern the extension of democratic principles in the administrative structure of the Chungking government.

Chiang Kai-shek, in his turn, accuses the Communists of disobeying military orders and states as a basis of reconciliation the abolition of the Eighth Route Army and its special administrative district centered at Yen-an. On the face of it these two sets of proposals are irreconcilable. Whether or not popular pressure in China to heal the breach between Chiang and the Communists can succeed even if aided by pressure from those foreign powers to whose interest it is to have China continue its drive against Japan is a question the answer to which is in doubt. There are factors weighing heavily on both sides of the scale.

The present crisis in China and its international repercussions contain elements which differentiate it sharply from that in 1927 when the Communist-Kuomintang cooperation broke down into

⁸ For text of the Chinese Communists' manifesto, see *China Today*, March, 1941.

civil war and from that in 1933-1937 when the Central Chinese government capitulated to Japan under the slogan of fighting communism first and then Japan.

Within China the most apparent and perhaps the most important difference lies in the strength of the Communist areas which are pledged to continue to prosecute the war against Japan in any case. Not only are their own forces well organized and able to carry on without assistance from Chungking, as they have been compelled to do recently for months, but the Eighth Route Army now is separated from supply routes to the USSR only by small areas occupied by other forces.

A second difference is that undoubtedly the sentiment for continuation of the fight for national independence has permeated more widely in Free China and its armies, and many non-Communists might well be expected to lend at least moral support to whatever groups undertook the job.

Other new factors derive from the international situation. The war in Europe, tied as it is to the Far Eastern conflict through the tri-partite Axis Pact, means that among the foreign Powers England and the United States are aligned against Germany and Japan, and the two groups are exerting opposing pressures on China. London and Washington are bidding for continued Chinese resistance to tie Japan's hands while Japan seeks to free them by peace negotiations. The weight of Anglo-American pressure is offset both by the past record of their failure to aid China and withhold supplies from Japan; and by the difficulties inherent in backing up moral pressure with material deliveries. Loans are not enough: goods are needed. On the other hand, the pro-German and pro-Japanese elements, long present in Chungking, have succeeded in entrenching themselves in key positions in Chiang Kai-shek's regime.

In the resolution of the contending forces, the Soviet Union too has a part to play. It cannot fail to look with anxiety on current developments: civil war in China would constitute a severe set-back to Chinese independence, so long a primary interest of the Soviets in the Far East; the conversion of war in China into war in the Pacific would cut the Soviet Union almost entirely off from the sea lanes of trade; a Chungking-Tokyo truce would most probably re-

sult in some concentration of Japanese troops in North China and Manchuria, carrying with it the menace of border incidents. At the present time, however, the perennial sources of friction between the USSR and Japan are at least temporarily quiescent. Not only was the fishery agreement renewed at the beginning of the year, with certain advantages accruing to the USSR,⁹ but negotiations have been reported under way for a long-term fishery convention and a trade agreement. The Japanese press and some of its officials have also manifested an interest in a non-aggression pact with the USSR. None of these facts in themselves are any guarantee of good relations between the two countries or even of real progress toward better relations, inasmuch as similar trade and fishery negotiations were held in 1940 without result. Yet, coupled with Japan's present involvement in southeastern Asia, they can perhaps be taken as evidence that Japan is actually seeking a stabilization of Soviet-Japanese relations in all fields. Such a development would doubtless be welcomed by the Soviets, but it cannot be expected to carry with it any implication for Soviet-Chinese relations, because the Soviets have heretofore held that bilateral agreements which it enters can carry no obligations as to its relations with third parties.

With the other powers concerned in the Far East, the Soviets have no close relationships. While its treaties and commercial agreements with Germany have served as a basis for settling amicably the questions arising between them, Moscow has been at pains to deny all rumors of German participation or mediation in Soviet Far Eastern affairs, where its interests are clearly at variance with those of Germany. On the other hand, although Soviet aid to China has coincided with that of the United States and England at certain periods, its relations with these two countries have been complicated by Soviet neutrality in the European war. Although it is recognized that the three nations have a common interest in maintaining Chinese resistance to Japan, it has to date proved impossible for them to cooperate toward this end.

⁹ Rent payments were raised 20 per cent and simultaneously with the signing of the fishery agreement a settlement was reached regarding a refund to the Soviet Union for non-fulfillment of a contract by the Matsuo Dockyards.

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

Foreign Minister Matsuoka's visit to Berlin via Moscow gives added emphasis to the world-wide importance of recent developments in the Far East. He was reported to have made unusually friendly remarks on the USSR and its revolution, and the Japanese press has stressed the necessity for regulating Soviet-Japanese relations with a view to making Japanese participation in the Axis effective.¹⁰ Yet Matsuoka's visit to Moscow and his meeting with Stalin were said to be "purely social," as Berlin negotiations were the real object of the trip.

In the Far East, both England and America have manifested growing concern for China, and the United States has pledged the aid that "China, through Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek," has asked¹¹. The President's special envoy Currie is reported to have brought word that the need for material help is not too great to be met,¹² and some Americans have expressed the view that this assistance should be given in return for a pledge of united resistance.

In China itself, Japan has renewed its bombings of Chungking; it has moved more troops into south China; and has, for the first time in a year, launched an intensive attack in Kiangsi. In connection with the latter, both the Japanese and Nanking press emphasized that the "Chinese were weakened by fighting between Chungking regulars and Communists,"¹³ and prophesied that a final break was near. On the other hand, although Chiang Kai-shek stated on March 6 to the People's Political Council that the Communist demands were unacceptable, he added: "If henceforth they obey orders and stop attacking other army units, our government would be lenient and let bygones be bygones,"¹⁴ a statement much like those made in 1937 when the united front was formed, without any signing of agreements.

¹⁰ *New York Herald Tribune*, March 26, 1941.

¹¹ President Roosevelt's speech, March 15, 1941.

¹² *New York Herald Tribune*, March 25, 1941.

¹³ *New York Herald Tribune*, March 23, 1941.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, March 23, 1941.

FOLK MOTIVES IN SOVIET POETRY

Fragments from a survey of Soviet Literature, in progress

By

ALEXANDER KAUN

I

It is only natural that with the rise of the masses and their prestige in national life, folk motives should assume a growing dominance in Soviet arts. The presence of folk motives in literary expression is quite notable, both in illiterate folk-productions and in written poetry. The keynote, in the latter, was struck by the October Revolution. In its most significant record, *The Twelve*, Alexander Blok interpolated passages reminiscent of the *chastushka* tone and swing. The *chastushka* is primarily a village jingle anonymously composed by local wits on some current topic, the pattern, epithets, and tune remaining traditional, with slight variations. Demyan Bedny owed his popularity in a large measure to his *chastushka*-like ditties that spread like wildfire during the civil wars, and were sung by soldiers and civilians alike. Even Mayakovsky, an urban poet if there ever was one, made abundant use of the *chastushka* rhythm and vocabulary, especially in his journalistic verses and placards. The ancient epic ballads, the *byliny*, and other forms of folklore, including song, fairy-tale, ritual verse, have fed the Soviet muse in ever increasing quantity. For illustration one may turn again to Demyan Bedny, who borrowed lavishly from the folk-treasury for his fables, lyrics, long narratives, and plays. A number of younger poets have followed in this direction. Among them, Alexander Prokofev has been particularly apt in employing folklore motives and methods in his poems of the civil wars and of the present day village.

II

Russia has always been a singing country, the song often serving as the only outlet for the untutored and oppressed masses. In recent years the popular demand for new songs, expressive of contemporary themes, has prompted a good many poets to compose both modern

“romances” and verses in the style of folksongs. The intensive translation of the literature and folklore of national minorities, stimulated by official Soviet policy, has further enhanced the spread of the song-genre. Unlike other forms of poetry, the success or failure of a song is conclusively proven by its popular acceptance or rejection, allowing of course for the contributory role of its musical composer. Young poets like V. Gusev, S. Mikhalkov, A. Surkov, and particularly V. Lebedev-Kumach, have eclipsed other and better poets in the measure of acclaim they have received for their songs. The extremely critical attitude of Soviet audiences, and their growing sense of discrimination, may serve as some assurance that the popularity of a song is not attributable to cheapness or low standard. As a sample of these songs one may cite “Song of the Motherland” by Lebedev-Kumach, typical in its simplicity and in the patriotic sentiment that has increased of late in intensity. Such a song (it was composed for the film *Circus*), once it hits the mark, is caught up by millions of Soviet citizens via the screen, the radio, the platform, the printed page, and becomes part and parcel of the folk repertory. Here is an almost literal translation of this song.

REFRAIN: Vast is my native land.
Has many forests, fields, rivers.
I know of no other country
Where man breathes so freely.

From Moscow to the very borderlands,
From the southern mountains to the seas of the north,
Man goes up and down as master
Of his immense motherland.

Freely and broadly life everywhere
Flows, like opulent Volga.
For youth all roads are open here,
Full respect for old folks.

REFRAIN

Our fields no eye can embrace,
You cannot recall all our cities.
Our proud word “tovarishch”
Of all fair words is dearest to us.

With this word we are everywhere at home—
No blacks, no colored folks for us.
This word is familiar to all,
It finds us near ones far and wide.

REFRAIN

A spring breeze wafts across our land.
Day by day 'tis merrier to live,
And no one in the world knows better
How to laugh and to love.

But severely we shall frown our brows,
Should an enemy design to break us.
Like a bride we love our motherland,
We guard her like a tender mother.

After the adoption of the 1936 Constitution, Lebedev-Kumach added these verses:

At our table everyone feels welcome,
Each rewarded for his merits.²
With golden letters have we written
The Stalinite people's law.

The grandeur and glory of these words
No years whatever shall erase
Man always has the right
To education, rest and work.²

REFRAIN

III

Closely allied to the song is the ballad, which has grown popular both in recitation and song. The prevailing theme is personal and mass heroism in the revolution, the civil wars, and the reconstruction period. Typical of such a ballad-song is M. Svetlov's "Grenada," which has taken the country by storm. It is one of Svetlov's civil war pieces, written before the recent conflict in Spain. The appeal of "Grenada" is due to such of its balladic merits as fantasy and grim humor, coupled with an ingenuous internationalism.

² Reference to Clauses 12, 118, 119, 121 of the Constitution.

GRENADA

We rode at a trot,
We sped into battle,
The song "Little Apple"
Held in our teeth.
Ah, this little song
Hovers to this day
Over the young grass,
The steppe's malachite.

But a different song,
Of a far-away land,
My buddy carried
Along on his saddle.
He sang, glancing all the while
At his native fields:
"Grenada, Grenada,
Grenada of mine!"

This little song
He has learned by heart.
How came Spain's melancholy
To this Ukrainian?
Answer, Alexandrovsk,
And Kharkov, reply:
Since when have you begun
In Spanish to sing?
Tell me, O Ukraine:
Does not 'mid your corn
Lie the shaggy cap
Of Taras Shevchenko?³
Wherefrom, my buddy,
Comes your song:
"Grenada, Grenada,
Grenada of mine!"

He is slow in answer,
The dreamy Ukrainian:
"Little brother, Grenada
I found in a book.

A pretty name,
A high honor.
In Spain there is
A Grenada county.
I left my hut,
I went to war,
The Grenada land
For to give the peasants.
Farewell, my kinsmen.
Grenada, Grenada,
Grenada of mine!"

On we sped, dreaming
Of mastering quickly
The grammar of battle,
The battery language.
The sun now rose,
Now set again,
My horse grew tired
Galloping the steppes.
The squadron played
The song "Little Apple"
With bows of suffering
On violins of time.
But where, O my buddy,
Is that song of yours:
"Grenada, Grenada,
Grenada of mine!"

³ The celebrated Ukrainian poet (1814-1861).

• The province of Granada in Spain.

His pierced body
Slid down to the earth.
For the first time my comrade
Has left the saddle.
I beheld: over the corpse
The moon bent down,
The dead lips breathed:
 "Grena . . ."
Yes! To a far-away land,
To a reach beyond the clouds,
Has gone my buddy,
And took along his song.
Since then his native fields
No longer hear:
"Grenada, Grenada,
Grenada of mine!"

The squadron failed to note
The loss of one warrior,
And the song "Little Apple"
They sang to the end.
Only 'cross the sky softly
Crept, after a bit,
A tearlet of rain.
New songs
Life invents.
Let us not, buddies,
Mourn for songs.
Let us not, let us not,
Let us not, my friends . . .
"Grenada, Grenada,
Grenada of mine!"

IV

One offshoot of this movement toward folk-poetry may be seen in the fantasies of the gifted young poet, S. Kirsanov. Author of more than a dozen books, he has shown a continuous growth and expansion. For a time, as a pupil of Mayakovsky, he was infatuated with formalistic tricks, producing verbal and syntactic oddities, his aspiration being

To plunge from the cliff of metaphors to the bottom—
A diver after the pearls of words.

That early period served him as good training in mastering the intricacies of language, meter, rhythm, and sound potentialities. To that time belongs his translation of Verlaine's *Chanson d'automne*, which in musical perfection and closeness to the spirit of the original eclipsed the numerous preceding versions. Omitting his subsequent phases, I am going to mention only his latest, fairy-tales.

There was a time when Soviet pedagogues frowned upon fairy-tales as an opiate for the tender minds of children, breeding non-materialistic notions and superstitions. The huge success of Kornei Chukovsky's *Crocodile* and other nonsense-verses by him, by Marshak, Zhitkov, and other brilliant poets for children, and of the more recent Kirsanov tales, indicates the passing of the earlier view, along with other symptoms of what Lenin dubbed "leftist infantilism." In his three best-known tales, Kirsanov makes good use of his technical skill to blend the fantastic element with social problems of the day. Like all good children's literature, his tales make fascinating reading for adults: indeed, designed for children, they gained over Kirsanov's earlier, largely formalistic efforts, in clarity, understandability, and easy flow of the verse despite the variety of meter and rhythm he employs as the occasion demands. His neologisms, hybrid words, onomatopes, and other oddities have the graceful naturalness of nursery rhymes, and neatly fit the subject. Though composed after the traditional model of fairy-tales, Kirsanov's narratives thrill the reader with their abundance of modern references, latest technical terms, and contemporary issues.

Kirsanov's finest success is his *Cinderella* (*Zolushka*). A masterpiece in form and plot, it may rank with *Alice in Wonderland*; there is more social pathos in its humor, however, than in its English counterpart. The subtitle is "A Poem of all Fairy-Tales"; it contains, indeed, episodes from world-known fairy-tales, such as the magic carpet and Red Riding Hood or such Slavic themes as the Deathless Kashchey from the Firebird cycle. Kirsanov enhances the fun by placing the plot in our own time, mingling the supernatural with telephone and radio, and alternating anthropomorphic devices with such realistic scenes as that of Cinderella's sisters preening themselves for the ball with the aid of up-to-date cosmetics. Kirsanov's deviation from the Grimm version appears at the outset, when the sisters day-dream of a prince "with a million to his bank account." On the family's return from the ball, the father, who has had too much to eat, suffers from an attack of hiccoughs; he unbuttons his waistcoat, and clamors for his favorite pill, "Dr. Julius' gilded pill." Cinderella is driven to town for the pill, and here begin her adventures in the snow-buried forest, and later in the city. Kirsanov

boldly mixes fantastic items from universal tales, here and there giving them a modern slant, skipping from archaisms to the latest technological cry, or to a village *chastushka*. To translate Kirsanov adequately one must possess the gift of Lewis Carroll. Here is a sample passage, stripped unfortunately of its bewitching rhythm and rhyme:

Out on the road steps Cinderella—
She calls the ducks, the ducks comply.
Sparrows screech in German: *zurück!*
And share their paltry finds.
Stradivarius-like writhes the cat,
Washes his face for politeness' sake,
And perching on the back-window ledge
Up he strikes a grand purrucchio. . . .

Kirsanov varies the meter and tone, according to the moods he suggests—humor or satire, sadness or joy. The bantering tone changes to a highly emotional one, when the narrative touches on Cinderella's misery, her toil and vicissitudes, especially in the freezing scene at night in the forest. Here we have an epitomic presentation of man's economic slavery. The poem is interspersed with social implications, but without offensive obviousness: Kirsanov is an artist. With pathetic humor he describes the toys and luxuries in the shop windows, eager to fall into the frozen little hands of Cinderella, who gazes at them longingly from the street. Kirsanov emphasizes the original motive of this ancient tale, the motive of have-nots *versus* haves. The poem ends on a major note, in an apotheosis of Cinderella amidst marvels and stunts, from the oldest conceptions of human imagination to dropping parachutes and somersaulting planes.

V

A curious mixture of epic and fairy-tale may be found in A. Tvardovsky's *Muravia Land*. The author knows intimately the village, its speech and lore, and its problems. Like his two previous poems of Soviet peasantry, this one, his best, though saturated with village atmosphere, differs significantly from Soviet rustic poetry. Tvardovsky's peasant is free from the burlesquerie one finds in

Demyan Bedny, nor is he endowed with the mystic sweetness and other-worldliness of Kliuyev and Esenin. He faintly resembles Nekrasov's peasant, without the halo that the "penitent nobles" bestowed upon their victims, the gadflies of their conscience.

Muravia Land abounds in folkloristic features, such as legend, superstition, ritual song and dance, sayings and proverbs. But these do not protrude as superimposed ornamentation; adroitly they are woven into the body of the poem and appear inseparable from its pattern. What prevents these traditional forms from sounding remote and frozen is the mass of modern concepts and terms poured into them—the radio, the tractor, the collective farm, the soviet. The *chastushka*, for example, is made use of as to structure and tone, but its theme suggests the radical change that has taken place in village conditions. This is illustrated in the festivities which occur early in the poem and toward the end. On both occasions Tvardovsky mingles the old and the new with skill and social insight. In the first instance village *kulaks* carouse and swill vodka in memory of those of their ilk who have been dispossessed and exiled. They shout and drink and weep with abandon, in full knowledge of their doom as a class. From the frankness of their loosed tongues we learn of their sense of self-importance as opulent farmers, as well as of their undercover machinations against the government collectors of grain. One of them, presumably the host, strikes up a song, old in words and tune, but quite timely in its allegoric application to what he considered the oppressive new order:

"Wherefore, God's birdie,
Dost not peck grain seeds?
Wherefore, tiny one,
Dost not sing loud songs?"

Little bird answers:
"Life in a cage I relish not.
Throw open my prison cell,
Into the free I will fly."

More elaborate is the description of a wedding feast on a collective farm, as the story draws to an end. An abundant harvest has

been gathered, a red flag waves over the bride's hut, and the revelers are gay and free from care and worry. We witness the seemingly immutable conservatism of peasant customs and conventions in their wedding ceremonies, their dances, songs, drinking toasts. Here is the old mother, recalling her own joyless youth, at the time when wife-beating was accepted as a sign of respectability, to be anticipated by every bride. She sings a traditional lament, with references to the little swallow that must fly to foreign lands, and to the orphaned maiden going off to a home of strangers. Traditionally the bride is here expected to shed floods of tears, but the young people of today's village refuse to weep for what is past and gone. Tvardovsky gives expression to the cheerfulness of the new village in a superb passage, describing a folk-dance to the music of an accordion, the rhythm fittingly reflecting the sounds and movements. As customary, the music and dance alternate with a song (or are accompanied by one). A common *chastushka* is given here, with the words slightly changed to give it a new twist marking the modernization of "Holy Russia":

Out steps an impish girl—
Make way, dancing choir!
Her new white skirt
She plucks with two fingers:

"They've tried to marry me off,
Talk me into it they've failed.
I don't want to leave the commune,
Not even for marriage sake.

'What sort of lad are you?'
I'll ask the lad.
'You're a lad all right, but not a flier.
As for me, I want a flier.' "

The burden of the poem is the ancient theme of a man setting out in quest of the Promised Land. Nikita Morgunok, unwilling to join the collective farm, harnesses his horse and leaves the village to journey toward the legendary Muravia Land. Morgunok is neither a *kulak* nor a pauper, but of the category made much of by

Lenin—a *serednyak*, a “middler,” that is, a peasant just above the point of starvation. Morgunok clings to his puny, but private, property with the tenacity of a hereditary husbandman. Tvardovsky shows both sympathy and understanding in his portraiture of this vanishing species, the individual landholder in the Soviet Union. One must realize the difficulty for a young Soviet poet, born into the new order, to depict attachment to property without rancor and mockery. Morgunok is rendered decidedly likable in his love for the soil and its gifts, even for the arduous toil it entails. The poetization of the sinful feeling of proprietorship is particularly apt in the description of Morgunok’s devotion to his horse, an animal of rather indifferent points but of remarkable intuition and wisdom; in fact, it is the horse alone with whom its master takes counsel on the eve of his departure for Muravia Land. Soviet readers are introduced to a proprietor whose passion for ownership emanates not from greed for acquisition or exploitation, but from an inherent love for earth and beast; such a passion they may condemn as old-fashioned, yet not as vicious. It is this passion, however, that impels Morgunok to flee from the collective: he does not trust his beloved soil, his friendly horse to an impersonal organization that “regiments” the individual farmer. His ideas and ideals are those of a petty proprietor, a “rugged individualist,” as is evident from his conception of the Promised Land:

. . . Muravia the ancient, Muravia Land.
To the length and to the width
The land is your own, all round.
Plant, if you will, just one seed—
But, then, it’s your own.
Don’t have to ask anybody,
Yourself alone you heed.
Going to reap? Reap away!
Going for a drive? Drive away!
All you see before you is your own,
Just stroll about and spit at ease.
The well is yours, the firs are yours,
Even to all the fir-cones.

[22]

All year long, both summer and winter,
Ducks dive in the lake.
And, God save the mark,
There is no *kommunia*, nor *kolkhozia*.⁴
To all peasant rules and customs
Muravia is faithful.
Muravia, Muravia—
A jolly fine land!

Like millions of other pre-revolutionary peasants throughout vast Russia, Morgunok is "in the grip of the soil," to use the phrase of Gleb Uspensky. He dreams of unmolested private ownership as the peak of happiness, his ideal exemplar being the local *kulak*, Ilya Bugrov, wealthy shopkeeper and hoarder of grain on the sly. If he could only rise to Bugrov's level, to be in a position to exchange greetings with him as with an equal, to have the honor of entertaining him in his hut,

To chew the rag on this and that
To hum a song with half-closed eyes,
Then arm in arm, the two of them,
To stroll for a look at the fields of grain.

Such is Nikita Morgunok, a typical *serednyak*. Tvardovsky's task is to bring him to the collective farm, by convincing him, empirically, of its superiority over individual landholding. This is a gradual process, as in the case of millions of Morgunoks. Our Morgunok's Odyssey proves instructive; it cures him of many superstitions and of his credulity, and in the end, of the Muravia utopia. Cheated and robbed of his beloved horse by the fugitive ex-*kulak* Bugrov, in return for Morgunok's friendship and road hospitality, the gullible *muzhik* suffers his first disillusionment. Searching for his horse, he looks into a settlement of gypsies, traditional horse-thieves. To his amazement, even the gypsies have changed their ways and are living a settled life in a model collective farm. Morgunok's prejudices are strong enough to keep him from accepting the proffered gypsy hospitality. He is unaware of the fact that in

⁴ Commune; collective farm.

Soviet Russia, the gypsies, like other “inferior” nationalities, have proved their right to economic and cultural equality, and have their own schools, newspapers, and even opera house, where they perform Mérimée-Bizet’s *Carmen* and Pushkin-Rakhmaninov’s *Gypsies* in their native language.

He wanders on, and comes upon a village of individual farmers. Here he expects to find an adumbration of Muravia. What he sees there, however, is poverty and stagnation. Half-starved peasants loiter about, whittle, scratch their heads, and philosophize on the advantages of their good old system. But the women refuse to see with their men’s eyes. One of them draws a graphic comparison between their “individualistic” life and that on the collective farm, branding her kind “unpeople” as against the collectivist “people-people”:

. . . “Lo, I go about with empty breast—
Such a fine life, forsooth!
With people-people, wheat
Is bending in the breeze,
But with unpeople, straw
Strewn all over the court.
With people-people, children
All day frolic in playgrounds,
By a common table in a row
Sit like turtle-doves.
While mine live in this world
Worse than grizzled piggies.
My kids are not to blame—
’Tis their dad that’s guilty.
As I look at this picture,
With you loafing all day long,
I am going to spit, drop it all,
And run away, devil take you!”

Nikita Morgunok is shocked at the sight of triumphant individualism, but still he clings to his dream. He addresses Stalin himself, the man who has become a legend, in his life time, through the

lands of the Union. The Stalin episode is one of Tvardovsky's numerous folk-incrustations:

It grew—at first muffled,
Spread radio-like—the rumor,
As an echo through the woods,
So it ran across the land:
Stalin is riding, his very self,
On a raven horse.
By waters blue, over hills and fields,
'Cross highways and byways,
In his greatcoat, with his little pipe,
He rides straight ahead.
Now he visits one district,
Now another.
He looks about, he chats with folks,
And jots down in his little book
Every bit right and proper.

Morgunok prepares a speech to Comrade Stalin, in which he pours out all his grievances and aspirations, not forgetting the story of his horse. He does not question the wisdom of destroying the old, nor the advantages of the new order. Only—he would like so much to get the taste of living on his own allotment, with his own horse, if only for a while. Later on he will join the collective, he swears he will. Would not Comrade Stalin do him a favor and issue a decree in that sense, that is, to let Nikita Morgunok remain for the time being an individual holder. . . .

Tvardovsky pictures thus the average middle-aged peasant about the year 1930, in the early stage of the collectivization process. With his head he accepts the new system as indisputably better than the old one—how can he help seeing that with the aid of mechanized methods collective farming results in better crops than backward individual farming? But his heart still yearns after a Muravia, where every bit is his *own*, where he may stroll about and spit at will. As against Bugrov, the *kulak* type, and Morgunok, the wobbly middler, Tvardovsky draws a portrait of Andrey Frolov, the person-

ification of the new rural element, the collective farmer; his impact on Morgunok has an ultimately decisive effect. Of a powerful physique and strong of will, Frolov has fought all his life against exploiters and oppressors, has known misery and subjection, has been beaten by his enemies almost to death. Now he is a staunch upholder of the new order which frees man from the thralldom of master and property. With Frolov as guide, Morgunok observes the collective farm, its modern machinery, superior crops, growing opulence, and his heart of a soil-tiller is thrilled. More than by the tangible signs of well-being, he is impressed by the joviality of these farmers, their geniality and lightness of spirits, the absence of gloom and care and worry which Morgunok has been wont to associate with peasant life. The wedding feast, mentioned previously, sounds a climactic note in this rhapsody of collectivism. The scene ends in Morgunok's recovery of his horse from a fugitive priest who rides up to the feast in the hope of earning a few coins by performing the obsolescent ceremony.

The conversion of Morgunok does not take place then and there. The author continues to mingle realism with fantasy, alternating psychological probability with the whimsicality of a fairy-tale. Morgunok, now that his horse is restored to him, leaves the hospitable collective farm, and proceeds on his journey to the land of Muravia. After days of travel, he comes upon a venerable ancient dressed as a pilgrim to holy places. The old man admits that he has discovered the futility of pilgrimaging to distant places, when so many good things are taking place so near at home; he is on his way back to his native village. Knocking about a great deal, he has learned that

“As for God—’tis not exactly that He ain’t,
But he’s no longer in power.”

Of this man of experience Morgunok inquires for directions to Muravia Land. There is no such place, he is told. Once upon a time there may have existed a Muravia, but it has disappeared, has overgrown with “grass and sward” (a play of words: *murava* means grass). Who wants this Muravia, anyway, when all around is life now so “handy”? Morgunok gathers that this “handy” land is nowhere but in a collective farm. The author leaves him on the

road, ashamed of his long hesitation and fruitless quest, but ready to profit from the wisdom he has acquired:

“For now I can see all things more clearly
For thousands of versts around.”

Tvardovsky's *Muravia Land* typifies the best of Soviet art today. Though rich and variegated, its form is simple and unobtrusive, finely adapted to the subject, now in iambs now in sing-song amphibrachs. The descriptions are clear and crisp, aptly conveying the very feel of field and soil, yet free from hackneyed epithets and canned lyricism. Above all the poem meets Tolstoy's first requirement of art—that it be understandable. The long fight against formalism and naturalism, in behalf of making art appreciable by the huge and exacting Soviet public, has not been in vain. The composer Sergei Prokofieff has stated the “difficult but interesting problem” for his field of art in these terms:

“Music written for the masses must of necessity be simple, but by no means reduced to repetition of old, worn-out formulas, nor—and that is even more important—must it cater to bad taste.”

What Prokofieff has done with folk-motives in his music for *Alexander Nevsky* is suggestive of the way that the problem has been solved by Soviet composers and other creative artists.

Understandable art does not have to be inferior art; witness the Bible narratives. Tolstoy's latter day fables and tales, written expressly for the common people, are a high achievement in form and style. Like Prokofieff, and recently Shostakovich, in music, Tvardovsky and other leading Soviet poets have successfully followed this path of producing work of the highest level, designed not for exclusive circles, but for millions of eager and critical readers.

A more direct expression of folk motives in Soviet poetry may be found in the vast number of compositions by illiterate singers and reciters. The removal of class and race inequalities has stimulated creative activity, activity on the part of the masses, both Russian and those of hitherto oppressed and ignored minor nationalities. We are witnessing the rare phenomenon of folklore in the making. This is a fascinating subject, and it deserves separate treatment.

THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE BALTIC SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

By

I. TRAININ*

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Among the decrees of the new people's parliaments, particular notice should be taken of the declaration on state power. On July 21, 1940 the parliaments of Lithuania and Latvia and the Estonian State Duma triumphantly proclaimed the establishment of Soviet power, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the same day, the Lithuanian and Latvian parliaments and on the following day, the Estonian State Duma, announced that the new Soviet Republics would apply for entry into the U.S.S.R.

The Lithuanian and Latvian Parliaments proclaimed on July 22, and the Estonian State Duma on July 23 that the land was henceforth the possession of the whole people, that is, state property. The size of the land allotment permitted the toiling peasants for their use was decreed not to exceed 30 hectares.¹ All surplus land over and above this was converted into a State Land Fund, for apportionment to the landless peasants and to those with small holdings. The land was secured to the peasants for use in perpetuity.

For many years the exploiting groups in the Baltic countries had been deceiving the people in the countryside, had been slandering Soviet power and frightening the peasants with stories that the Soviets "forcibly take property away from the peasants." The Lithuanian Minister of Agriculture, M. Mitskis, in his report on the agrarian question, given in Parliament on July 22, stated that "currency is being given to the meanest lie, to the effect that even children will be taken from the peasants and that the latter will be driven forcibly into collective farms." By means of such tales the exploiting classes played upon the property instincts of the peasants,

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¹ 1 hectare = 2.47 acres.

trying to win over to their side the middle (*seredniaki*) and the poor (*bedniaki*) peasants.

While strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the new Soviet power in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia declared that it would not tolerate any encroachments upon the personal property of the peasants. Thus, the declaration of the Lithuanian Parliament relating to state ownership of land provides that: "Every attempt to encroach upon the personal property of the peasants, or to force the toiling peasants against their will to organize collective farms, will be severely punished, as these attempts are against the interests of the state and the people." The same instructions are contained in the declarations of the Latvian Parliament and the Estonian State Duma. Simultaneously with these declarations, the people's parliaments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia decreed the abolition of peasants' redemption dues, which had been instituted during the land "reforms" of the past, the repeal of unjust taxes, and other measures of financial relief. As a result, in Lithuania alone, the peasants were freed from land redemption assessments and administrative fines to the amount of 40 million Lits.²

The next important historic step was the nationalization of banks and heavy industry, promulgated in Latvia on July 22, 1940, in Lithuania and Estonia on July 23. This measure has completely destroyed the material base of the exploiting upper classes, and in this way the development of a socialist system and socialist ownership of the implements and means of production was initiated in the Baltic countries.

The new people's parliaments constituted themselves Provisional Supreme Soviets, at special sessions convened at the end of August. The first decrees which they had issued as early as July 1940 were constitutional in character and were indeed incorporated into the framework of the constitutions of the new Baltic Soviet Republics.

The constitutions of the Lithuanian S.S.R., Latvian S.S.R. and the Estonian S.S.R. which were adopted at the special parliamentary sessions on the 25th of August, 1940, were drawn up "in complete conformity with the Constitution of the USSR" as required by

² 1 lit = 16.67 cents.

Article 16 of the latter.³ They contain, however, specific features, arising out of the special situation in the new Baltic Soviet Republics. The constitutions reflect present conditions—what has already been won and what appears to be a stable basis for further successful development toward socialism. The most characteristic peculiarities in the constitutions of the Baltic countries are evident above all in Chapter I, “Social Organization,” which will therefore be discussed in detail.

ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY

Article 1 of the three constitutions proclaims that each of the new union republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants. But, in the Soviet Baltic Republics which have just embarked upon the road of socialist development, the words “the state of workers and peasants” have not the same meaning as in the rest of the USSR. In the union republics, which have gone through the 23-year period of struggle and building, these words mean that the exploiting classes are liquidated, and that the structure of Soviet society consists of two new friendly classes—the workers and the peasants. In the Baltic Soviet Republics the phrase “the state of workers and peasants” means that power is wielded by the toilers—workers and peasants—who, under the leadership of the working class, have set themselves the goal of liquidating the exploiting classes completely, of building socialism and making the gradual transition from socialism to communism, with the liquidation of classes generally.

Article 2 of the constitutions of the Baltic countries describes the conditions out of which the soviets arose and the class aspect of the now overthrown exploiting forces. The Lithuanian constitution notes that soviets were established “as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists.” The constitutions of Latvia and Estonia indicate that soviets were established “as a result of the overthrow of the power of capitalists and large landed proprietors.”

Article 3 of the constitutions of the Baltic countries speaks of

³ This action followed the admission of the Baltic Republics into the USSR in August. cf. “Procedure in the Admission of the Baltic States,” *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*, Nov., 1940.—Ed.

the fact that all the power belongs to the toilers of town and country, as represented by the Soviets of Toilers Deputies.

Article 4 is characterized by the following differences: The constitutions of other union republics, as well as the Constitution of the USSR, declare that the economic foundation of the country "is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the implements and means of production. . . ." In these words the irrevocable victory of socialism is clearly stated. In the constitutions of the Baltic Republics, however, socialism is an objective rather than an accomplished fact. All three constitutions speak of socialist ownership, established "as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the implements and means of production in large industrial enterprises, and the nationalization of these enterprises, banks, means of transportation and communication, *for the purpose of abolishing completely the exploitation of man by man and building of socialist society.*" (Italics mine.—I.T.)

The first decrees of the new union republics fully nationalized the banks, railroad and water transport and the means of communication. Industry, however, has not yet been wholly nationalized. Small industrial enterprises in the Baltic Soviet Republics are not being nationalized. On the basis of decrees nationalizing industry in Lithuania, the state has taken over about 600 industrial enterprises, the estimated value of which is 400 million Lits. This property belonged to 1,000 families, each of which had an annual income of 20,000 to 500,000 Lits.

Article 5, dealing with forms of socialist property, also contains special features. In Article 5 of the constitutions of the other union republics, as well as in the Constitution of the USSR, it is stated: "Socialist property has either the form of state property (property of the whole people) or the form of cooperative and collective farm property (property of individual collective farms and property of cooperative associations)."

The constitutions of the Baltic Republics reflect the situation as it exists there today. As a result of the aforementioned declarations on ownership of land and the protection of the peasants' personal property and the inadmissibility of imposing upon the

peasants the organization of collective farms, these constitutions state that socialist property has either the form of state property (property of the whole people), "or the form of cooperative property."

Article 6, which enumerates the objects of state property, includes in the constitutions of the Baltic Republics "large factories," instead of "factories" as is stated in Article 6 of the constitutions of the other union republics and the Constitution of the USSR; instead of "as well as municipal enterprises and the principal dwelling house properties in the cities and industrial localities," the Baltic constitutions read: "as well as municipal enterprises and large houses in the cities and industrial localities." Thus, the socialist system and socialist property embrace mainly large industrial enterprises (Art. 4) and large factories (Art. 6) which have been nationalized. The small private industrial and commercial enterprises are permitted to continue within the limits established by law.

Small shipping enterprises are not subject to nationalization. Thus, for example, the edict of October 8, 1940, of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, which was published in conformity with Article 6 of the Constitution indicates that the following are not covered by nationalization provisions:

"(a) Sea-going vessels, not mechanically driven, of less than 50 tons capacity; (b) River and lake sailing boats, not mechanically driven, of less than 5 tons capacity; (c) Sea-going vessels, equipped with a motor of less than 15 horsepower; (d) River and lake vessels equipped with a motor of less than 10 horsepower; (e) Vessels, serving small fishing and hunting industries and providing their owners with a necessary means of subsistence (living wage) and belonging to the small enterprises organized on the principle of workers artels, with the exception of vessels having mechanical motors the gross capacity of which exceeds 20 registered tons."

In relation to the ownership of houses, an example may be cited in the edict of October 28, 1940, of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian S.S.R., also issued in conformity with Article 6 of the constitution. The edict states that, "those houses are subject to nationalization the floor space of which, including that of the structures attached to them, exceeds 220 sq. m. in Riga,

Lepa, Ventspils, Elgav, Dougavpils, and 170 sq. m. in all other cities and industrial localities."

Regardless of size, the following, together with the structures attached to them, are subject to nationalization: (a) houses, the owners of which fled the country; (b) buildings of socio-historical and artistic value; (c) buildings occupied by state institutions.

Small dwellings which do not serve as a source of unearned income for their owners are not subject to nationalization.

The government of Soviet Latvia adopted a number of measures to provide housing for the toilers: They were moved from cellars into decent apartments and rent standards were fixed.

Another edict of October 28, 1940, under Article 6 of the constitution, nationalized all hotels of 10 or more rooms, in the large towns and county seats. Moreover, the following are also subject to nationalization: private hospitals, polyclinics, drug stores and pharmaceutical warehouses, the chemical-pharmaceutical industry, private cinema theatres, film renting offices and portable projection apparatus. Similar measures were taken in Lithuania and Estonia.

Consequently, the state has concentrated in its hands the most important and key branches of industry, transport, trade, large dwellings, health protection and education.

Article 7 of all three constitutions states that public enterprises in cooperative organizations with their livestock and implements constitute the public, socialist property of these organizations. The point to note here is that there is no mention of collective farms, of the collective farm household (*dvor*) and the plot of land for the personal use of the collective farmers which is to be found in Article 7 of the constitutions of the other union republics and in the Constitution of the USSR.

Article 8 of the constitutions of the Baltic Soviet Republics corresponds in content to Article 9 of the Constitution of the USSR. The difference lies in the fact that the socialist system is not mentioned as the predominant form of economy. All three constitutions indicate that, "alongside the socialist system of economy . . . the private economy of individual peasants, artisans, and handicraftsmen, small private industrial and commercial establishments are permitted within the limits established by law." This testifies to

the fact that the process of development of the socialist system of economy has only just begun.

It is true that the nationalization of the banks, large industrial and commercial enterprises in the cities has already strengthened state property (property of the whole people). In Estonia, for instance, it includes about 90 per cent of all industry. In the villages, however, private economy continues to predominate. In Estonia, for example, according to the figures of the Chairman of the Constitutional Commission, I. Lauristin, the socialist sector of the economy constituted about 10 per cent of the total at the end of August, 1940.

The constitutions of the three Baltic Republics emphasize that private economy, private industrial and commercial enterprises, etc. are permitted "within the limits established by law." This means that private economy in the cities, as well as in the rural areas, will not develop haphazardly, in response to laws of the capitalist market. Under conditions of the dictatorship of the working class, with the "commanding heights" in the hands of the state and with state ownership of land, etc., there is no chance for capitalistic chaos in the economic development. The leading role of the working class and its Communist Party, the strengthening of the alliance between the workers and peasants, the help given to the poor and middle peasants in their struggle against the kulaks, the planned nature of the economy, the assistance in technology and agronomy from the USSR—all this will hasten the rebuilding of the economy on socialist principles. The situation in the Baltic countries in this way differs as yet from the situation in the remaining territory of the USSR, where the building of socialism is in the main accomplished, where the gradual transition from socialism to communism is already in process.

As a consequence there are also special characteristics in Article 9 of the three Baltic constitutions. The Constitution of the USSR states in Article 8 that: "the land occupied by the collective farms is secured to them for their free use for an unlimited time, i.e., in perpetuity," whereas the question of collective farms is omitted from the constitutions of the Baltic Republics. Article 9 of the constitutions declares: "the land occupied by peasant households, within

the limits established by law, is secured to them for their free use, for an unlimited time."

The constitutions of the Baltic Republics confirm the redistribution of land already effected, within the limits of the regulations indicated by the declarations on state ownership of the land, namely, that one household may not hold over 30 hectares. This, however, is the maximum and not the obligatory norm governing the redistribution of expropriated lands. In Latvia, for instance, the State Land Fund consists of about one million hectares, which makes it possible to provide the landless and those with little land, with up to 10 hectares of land. In some districts of Lithuania agricultural laborers (*batraki*) and landless peasants received from 8 to 10 hectares of land; those with little land received 3 or 4 hectares to add to their own plots.

Summary figures indicate that, in Latvia, 50,000 households of agricultural laborers and landless peasants have already received about 475,000 hectares of land and that supplementary allotments, totalling 75,000 hectares, have been made to 23,000 households possessing little land. In Lithuania 71,000 agricultural laborers, landless peasants and those with little land have already received almost 600,000 hectares of land. In Estonia, 23,000 landless peasants and 32,000 of those with little land have received allotments.

The land question appears to be one of the most complex. This is especially evident in Latgalia, the eastern region of Latvia, where the toilers had suffered severely under the former capitalist regime. In Latgalia, the State Land Fund has only 56,000 hectares of land at its disposal. Allotments are needed by 40,000 households. Moreover, many Latgal agricultural laborers who are working in Courland are trying to get land in their native district. The government is at the moment concerned with the problem of resettling the Latgals in places where land reserves are more ample, and the necessary sums have been appropriated for the organization of these new households.

In view of the singular conditions under which the land problem has to be solved, small plots of land have been reserved in the countryside for the use of the clergy. On the 21st of August the government of Lithuania approved a decree of the State Land

Commission which states: "taking into consideration the sentiments of the peasants who are religiously inclined, in amendment of the previous decision, it is decreed that: In each parish, from the parish land (*glebe*) belonging to the Roman Catholic priests, officiating at the altar, where there are such Roman Catholic priests at this time, the rector and the canonically appointed priest are granted for their use three hectares of land each, including both garden lands (vegetable gardens, gardens and yards) and fields.

"Clerical persons having private land at present are considered as peasants and they are entitled to the peasant norm of land."

The new Soviet power in the Baltic countries is obligated to overcome the resistance of the class enemy, his attempts at sabotage and wrecking. Special government acts set severe penalties for those who make attempts against socialist property, and they mobilize all the toilers to be vigilant in the protection of socialist property.

The enemies invent all kinds of ways to "outfox" Soviet power. The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, Zatis Kalnberzin, relates the following: "A family—father and mother, three sons and their wives, and three grown-up daughters—have 54 hectares of land. They live prosperously and have never uttered a word about insufficiency of land. But now, suddenly, all the sons have begun to demand land to set up their own households and insist that their allotments should without fail be adjacent to the present boundaries of their farm. According to regulations everything would seem to be in order. In reality . . . In plain words we would be making a gift to a kulak, of several tens of hectares of land to add to the 54 hectares which he has owned up to this time."

Article 10 of the constitutions of the Baltic Republics refers to the right of personal property "in productive inventory and objects of household use," and not only "in domestic furniture and objects of household use," as stated in Article 10 of the constitutions of the other union republics and the Constitution of the USSR. This follows from Article 8 of the Baltic constitutions which permits not only the private economy of the peasants, artisans, and handicraftsmen, but also small private industrial enterprises.

Article 11 states that the economic life of the Soviet Baltic

Republics "is determined and directed by the State Plan of National Economy for the purpose of increasing the public wealth, of steadily raising the material and cultural level of the toilers, and of strengthening the independence of the USSR and its defense capacity." The single state plan of national economy thus secures the economic and cultural rise of the whole USSR and the growth of socialism in every union republic.

Article 12 guarantees the socialist principle of distribution of the social product "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Such, in brief outline, are the contents of Chapter I of the constitutions of the Soviet Baltic Republics, characterizing the social organization of these republics.

Lenin, in May, 1918, before the ratification of the constitution of the RSFSR, said that "the expression, Socialist Soviet Republic, signifies the determination of the Soviet power to realize the transition to socialism, but is not at all an affirmation that the new economic order is already socialistic." (Vol. XXII, p. 513.) Eighteen years of struggle and construction were necessary before the final irrevocable victory of socialism in the USSR could be inscribed in the Stalin Constitution. The Baltic Soviet Republics, from their first moment, were in a far more advantageous position than was the RSFSR in the first year of its existence. The Baltic Soviet Republics are drawing upon the vast experience of the socialist country, on the genuine assistance of the entire USSR of which they form a component part. This circumstance greatly reduces the time needed for the transition from capitalism to socialism. Even now it is possible to note daily the new successes of socialism in the Soviet Baltic countries—the accelerated process of overcoming the remnants of capitalism.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE

In passing on to other chapters of the constitutions of the Baltic Republics, the following may be noted. Chapter II, "The Organization of the State," is as a whole almost identical with the content of the corresponding chapters of the constitutions of the other union republics. The constitutions of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia

reserve to the USSR, through its higher organs of power and organs of state administration, the rights enumerated in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR. Outside of the limitations of Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, each Soviet Republic exercises state power independently, preserving its sovereign rights fully.

Chapter II establishes the bases of the sovereignty of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia: the right freely to secede from the USSR (Article 15), the inalterability of their territory without the consent of the respective Soviet Republic (Article 16), the force of laws of the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian SSR in their territories (Article 17), the fact that citizens of the Baltic Soviet Republics are citizens of the USSR (Article 18), the subjects over which these Soviet Republics have jurisdiction through their highest organs of administration (Article 19). In regard to administrative-territorial structure, subdivision into *uezd*, *volost* and *apilink* is still retained (Article 14 and Article 19, b, etc.).

It should be noted that the territory of the Lithuanian SSR at the time of its entry into the USSR was enlarged by the addition of Lithuanian regions formerly a part of the Belorussian SSR. Article 2 of the law admitting the Lithuanian SSR into the USSR resolves: "To adopt the proposal of the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR to transfer to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic the Svetsianskii region and those sections with a predominantly Lithuanian population in the Vidzovsk, Godutishkovsk, Ostrovetsk, Voronovsk and Radunsk regions of the Belorussian SSR." Such an example of an amicable solution of a territorial problem is inconceivable in the capitalist world. In the socialist state, the voluntary transfer of Belorussian territory with Lithuanian population to Lithuania is a consequence of the Lenin-Stalin national policy, of the effort to consolidate the nations, and in the interest of the public welfare to strengthen their cultures, which are national in form and socialist in content. The November 6, 1940, decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR ratified the new boundaries between the Lithuanian SSR and the Belorussian SSR.

Chapter III of the constitutions of the Baltic Republics on the highest organs of state power contains the following special features:

(1) In the Baltic Republics, various norms of representation are established for the elections into their Supreme Soviets (Article 21 of the three constitutions): in Lithuania one deputy for every 15,000 of the population, in Latvia for every 20,000, in Estonia for every 10,000.

(2) The number of vice-chairmen of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and members of the Presidium also varies. Generally, in the Republics of the Soviet Union the number of vice-chairmen is arranged in accordance with the number of autonomous units in the given union republic. Thus, in the RSFSR there are 16 vice-chairmen.

In the Lithuanian SSR there are 2 vice-chairmen and 11 members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Article 29); in the Latvian SSR there are 2 vice-chairmen and 7 members of the Presidium (Article 29); in the Estonian SSR there are 2 vice-chairmen and 5 members of the Presidium (Article 29).

The three constitutions in Article 25, make similar provisions: in Lithuania the laws are to be published in Lithuanian and Russian; in Latvia, in Latvian and Russian; in Estonia, in Estonian and Russian.

Chapter IV of the constitutions of the Baltic Republics—"Organs of State Administration"—takes into account the special types of administrative and territorial division. And accordingly, for example, Article 44 of the Lithuanian constitution provides that the Council of People's Commissars has the right to annul "the decisions and ordinances of the Executive Committees of the *uezd* (italics in the original) and city soviets of toilers deputies, and so on.

The number and the kind of People's Commissariats (Union Republic, Republic) are determined by the specific features and needs of the respective Republics (Articles 45 and 48). Thus the constitutions of the Latvian and the Estonian SSR provide for the organization of a People's Commissariat of Light Industry, while in the Lithuanian SSR there is no such Commissariat. The constitution of the Latvian SSR provides for a People's Commissariat of Timber Industry, which is lacking in Lithuania and Estonia.

It is especially necessary to note that there is a People's Commissariat of Labor in the system of administration in the Baltic

Soviet Republics. The creation of this Commissariat is linked with the peculiarities of the initial phase of socialist construction in these Republics, where it is necessary to introduce and enforce Soviet labor laws not only in the state enterprises but also in private enterprises.

Chapter V of the constitutions of the Baltic Republics—"The Local Organs of State Power"—contains no essential variations, except for those arising out of the differences in administrative-territorial divisions (*uezd*, *volost*, *apilink*). Variations exist only as to the frequency of the convocation of the sessions of the soviets. In the Lithuanian SSR the sessions of the county (*uezd*) soviets are summoned not less than four times a year, *volost* soviets not less than six times yearly; the same is true of Latvia and Estonia where it is also provided that city, village, hamlet, and *apilink* soviets are to meet not less than once a month.

Among the administrative departments of the *uezd* and city Executive Committees there are labor departments.

Until the elections of the local soviets of toilers' deputies in Lithuania the county, city, village, hamlet and *apilink* executive committees are being formed under the terms of the November 12 decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Such provisional executive committees are being formed locally in Latvia and Estonia.

COURTS AND LAW CODES

In the chapter, "The Courts and the State Attorney's Office," it is important to note the following. Court proceedings in the Lithuanian SSR are conducted in the Lithuanian language; in Latvia, in Latvian; in Estonia, in Estonian; "persons not speaking this language are ensured the opportunity of acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and the right to speak in court in their own language." (Article 83 of the three constitutions.)

On November 6, 1940, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR granted the request of the governments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, that they be allowed, until the publication of All-Union codes, to apply in their territories the law codes of the

RSFSR—criminal, criminal-procedure, civil, civil-procedure, the code of labor laws and the code dealing with marriage, family and wardship.

By virtue of the edict of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, decisions pertaining to criminal and civil matters which were on the calendar of the courts before the establishment of Soviet power and which were not executed, are not to be carried out but are subject to review on the basis of the codes of the RSFSR provisionally in effect. In conformity with these codes unfinished cases and cases relating to crimes committed before sovietization are to be tried. Civil and other cases relating to property disputes are to be tried in conformity with the codes of the RSFSR and the laws of the Baltic Republics.

The remaining chapters, which are identical with the corresponding chapters of the constitutions of other union republics, establish the same rights and obligations of the citizens of the USSR, the same equal rights of all citizens regardless of nationality, race or sex, and the same electoral system.

Efforts to introduce a new socialist culture are exemplified by the fact that, for instance, in Lithuania alone 41 million Lits were allotted for the needs of education for three months (October, November, December, 1940), where formerly under the rule of capitalists and landlords the same sum represented the expenditure for education for a whole year. During the first four months of Soviet rule in Lithuania 320 new elementary schools, nine complete and 17 incomplete middle schools, 14 special schools and 10 kindergardens were opened. For adults, 13 schools were organized. Fourteen centers of culture were established, universities were enlarged, art, literature, etc. were extensively developed. Similar cultural activities, ensuring the right to education, are being developed in Latvia and Estonia.

SOVIET CRIMINAL PSYCHIATRY

By

NATHAN BERMAN

The application of psychiatry to law violators in the Soviet Union is a subject very little known in this country. Few people here are at all aware of its existence and fewer still have any idea of what role it plays in Soviet penology. While Soviet social psychiatry received considerable publicity through such scholars as the late Dr. Frankwood Williams and others, hardly anything has been written on the subject of Soviet psychiatry as it applies to law violators. The significance of the subject lies not only in the fact that such individualized therapy is applied in a collectivist society, but also in its utilization to safeguard certain individuals against strict interpretation of the law rather than to protect the law against simulating offenders. In other words, it is more in the nature of a preventive therapy than a legalistic stop-gap.

Criminal Psychiatry,¹ a book published by the Serbski Psychiatric Institute, Moscow, throws considerable light on the place and function of present day Soviet criminal psychiatry. The scope of this book can perhaps be stated best through a summary of its contents. The book is divided into two parts, General and Special. Part I starts off with an article on the function of criminal psychiatry (Buneev). It is followed by a long chapter on the legislation and the organizational forms of Soviet criminal psychiatric service (Feinberg). This includes a discussion of types of services, the rights and obligations of criminal or court psychiatrists, the types of decisions and recommendations that they may render, and citations from the criminal code pertaining to such psychiatric services. Another chapter by Dr. Feinberg consists of a review of criminal psychiatric services in the capitalist countries, including the United States. Next comes an article on the meaning of mental disturbances

¹ *Sudebnaia Psikhiiatriia* (literally "Judicial Psychiatry"), textbook for juridical institutes, edited chiefly by A. M. Buneev and Z. M. Feinberg, Moscow, 1938, pp. 468.

(Dubinin); another article by the same author deals with the causes of mental ailments.

Part II deals with discussions of various forms of mental pathology, such as schizophrenia, epilepsy, manic depressive psychosis, and progressive paralysis. Then follow analyses of psychopathic personalities (Khaletzki), reactive condition (Professor Vedinski), psychogenic reaction (Vedinski). This book concludes with articles by Dr. Feinberg on psychiatric care in places of imprisonment; on criminal psychiatric service for juveniles, by Usevitch; and on psycho-pathology of juveniles and adolescents, by Oseretski.

Soviet criminal psychiatric service has undergone considerable change. It was first inaugurated in 1919, with the assignment of a visiting psychiatrist to the Moscow prisons. His main job consisted of singling out and removing the mentally ill to the newly organized psychiatric division of the Central Prison Hospital. This type of service was soon supplemented with provisions for treatment of patients in the institutions themselves through the appointment of psychiatrists to the larger correctional institutions.

Subsequent developments revealed the shortcomings in these psychiatric services. The fallacies are described as psychiatric "liberalism," where psychiatry permitted itself to be used by prisoners as the means for premature escape to freedom.

"The reason for these mistakes," writes Dr. Feinberg,² "was the acceptance of theories peculiar to bourgeois psychiatry carried over uncritically to our soil. They expressed themselves in attempts to explain crime as springing from constitutional peculiarities of this or that personality, without taking into account that the conduct of the law violator, the well and the psychopathic alike (with the exception of the organically ill), in places of imprisonment, is not always governed according to constitutional-biological premises, but by social setting as well as by all preceding development."

More recently, too, there has been some re-evaluation of the role and meaning of criminal psychiatry as an instrument of social control. In the foreword to this second edition, the editors state that the book has undergone considerable recasting.

² Z. M. Feinberg, *Sudebnaia Psikhiatriia*, p. 368.

"The exposed destructive 'theories' of criminal law found their reflection in criminal psychiatry. These expressed themselves primarily in underestimating the criteria of imputability [culpability] and substituting for them the criteria of intent."³

This, the author pointed out, is in direct contradiction to the meaning and intent of the law still in effect which reads:⁴

"Measures of social protection of a legal correctional nature cannot be applied to individuals committing a crime in a state of chronic mental ailment or in a state of temporarily disturbed mental condition, or suffering from some other illness if these persons could not account for their actions or control them; nor to persons mentally normal when committing the act but who, at the time of sentence, became mentally ill."

(Note: the above statute does not apply to persons who have committed a crime in a state of drunkenness.)

The role of Soviet criminal psychiatry is a two-fold one. The functions are as follows:⁵

"The fundamental task of Soviet criminal psychiatric service is to supply the investigatory-judicial organ with specific scientific recommendations relative to the imputability or un-imputability of individuals facing criminal charges, such individuals whose conduct aroused doubt about their mental condition; also to single out from among those held on criminal charges individuals who because of their mental illness are in need of treatment of a medical nature."

The practical application of Soviet criminal psychiatry, even if viewed superficially, appears as a vital force in Soviet penal service. It is introduced in every phase of law enforcement, from the preliminary investigation stage through the correctional institution. This service is entirely free to the public and can be initiated by the defendant or his family as well as by the state.

The first stage of psychiatric service is in connection with the

³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴ Criminal Code of the RSFSR, 1937, Paragraph 11.

⁵ Z. M. Feinberg, *Sudebnaia Psikhiiatriia*, p. 18.

preliminary investigation. When suspicion arises about the mental condition of the defendant, a psychiatrist is called in for consultation.⁶ While in clear-cut cases the consulting psychiatrist may render a final decision at this point, for the most part he refers the defendant-patient to a psychiatric clinic for a more complete examination and general study. The most widely used psychiatric service in legal matters is the clinical. Here the patient is kept under observation for various periods of time, receives numerous tests, medical and psychiatric, and his entire history and background are looked into.

The next stage of psychiatric service is in cooperation with the court. The psychiatrist (or psychiatrists as a committee), called upon to render an opinion of the person on trial, participates in the proceedings. His findings are submitted in open court. The psychiatrist need not render any decision; in this event, he must state the reason for not doing so. In cases where the psychiatrist fails to render a decision, or where the court disagrees with the decision, the court has to state in writing its exceptions and may call upon a new psychiatric commission to review the case.

Finally, there is the service for correctional institutions. Such service has as its objective the reduction of mental breakdowns among the inmates of correctional institutions through prevention and treatment. The work consists of singling out at an early stage and removing from places of imprisonment those inmates presenting symptoms of mental ailments. It also provides treatment for certain types of inmates within the institution, so as to facilitate their adjustment to the new conditions of institutional life.

It would appear from the discussion of criminal psychiatry in the USSR that Soviet penology tries to steer away as much as possible from the punishment idea and to keep closer to the therapeutic approach.

"Psychiatric service in correctional labor institutions is part of the general network of health protection," writes Dr. Feinberg. "Soviet criminal law definitely rejects the application of torture and human degradation as means of punishment."⁷

⁶ Code of Criminal Procedure of the RSFSR, 1938, Paragraph 162.

⁷ Z. M. Feinberg, *Sudebnaia Psikhiatriia*, p. 367.

Among the disciplinary measures ruled out in Soviet correctional institutions are corporal punishment, chaining of prisoners, denial of outdoor exercise, and the use of dark, damp, and cold solitary confinements.

Soviet criminal psychiatry is established and regulated by statute.⁸ The psychiatrist must be permitted to have access to all the facts in the case for which he is called upon to render advice. In cases of lack of cooperation or interference, the psychiatrist has the right to file complaint through the proper channels against the officials or agencies obstructing his work.

The psychiatrist in turn has certain obligations. Where a psychiatrist refuses to enter a case without sufficiently good reason, he may be prosecuted criminally. He is expected to render his decision in writing, but may use his own form or style. He is expected to state, if he decides to render a decision, whether the defendant is imputable or un-imputable. The decision rendered by the psychiatrist has to be in accordance with the facts and in response to the matter before him. For making false recommendations, he lays himself open to criminal prosecution.

Psychiatric service is obviously an integral part of the Soviet judicial and penological system. The psychiatrist called upon to render a decision involving a law violator is as much a part of the law enforcing machinery as the judge, prosecutor, or public defender. The experience of the Serbski Psychiatric Institute shows that of the total psychiatric decisions rendered by the Institute, about 99 per cent met with the approval of the law enforcing agents. Where occasionally disagreement did occur, it was in matters of practical proposals, that is, whether a given patient be sent to one type of hospital or another.

It would be misleading to state that the practical handling of the problem in the Soviet Union is at all times and in every place carried out ideally. There are indications that the psychiatric service for law violators is at times not up to standard. This seems to be due either to lack of proper facilities (especially in the provinces) or to ignorance of the law on the part of some officials charged

⁸ For the specific provisions of the Criminal Code dealing with the subject, see *Sudebnaia Psikhiairiia*, pp. 57-66.

with its enforcement. In this respect, one is impressed with the effort on the part of the government to face such shortcomings and attempt to correct them.

The above discussion can only suggest the rich material to be found in this book. Limitations of space make it impossible even to mention some of the specialized material. What is of particular value to the student is the wealth of case study material which accompanies every chapter in the book. Such illustrations give added substance and meaning to this useful volume.

FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE USSR IN 1940

By

E. C. ROPES

Division of Regional Information ¹

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UNITED STATES EXPORTS TO THE USSR

During 1940 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was the only large customer for American products among the non-belligerent countries in Europe. United States exports totaled \$82,092,000 in value, and reexports \$4,851,000, making a grand total of \$86,943,000. This value for exports was exceeded only by that for exports to the United Kingdom and France, both of which bought large quantities of war materials.

Exports in 1940 to the USSR, as in previous years, consisted almost entirely of semimanufactured and manufactured goods. Crude materials and foodstuffs comprised only \$10,874,000 in value, or 13.3 per cent. The share of the USSR in total American exports in these classes was 1.7 per cent for crude materials, 4.1 per cent for crude foodstuffs, 2.6 per cent for semimanufactures, and 2.0 per cent in manufactured goods.

Values of monthly shipments of exports to the USSR fluctuated greatly, from a high in January of \$13,066,000 to a low in May of \$499,000. This variation was due in large measure to difficulties encountered by the Amtorg Trading Corporation, which handles all shipping of goods, in obtaining bottoms, usually American flag boats, to charter for the run to Vladivostok. All American shipments to the USSR, and some from other countries, have for over a year been routed to that port, because of the practical closing of the Mediterranean and Baltic Seas to American ships by war conditions.

Consideration of exports by individual classes and items discloses information of interest. The first striking item is 6,172,000 pounds of sole leather, valued at \$2,180,000. These goods were purchased in the United States, instead of one of the South American

¹ Statistics prepared by Division of Foreign Trade Statistics.

Principal Commodities in Trade of the United States with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Commodity and group	Quantity		Value (1,000 dollars)	
	1938	1939	1938	1940
EXPORTS, UNITED STATES MERCHANDISE, TOTAL.				
Sole leather, beads, backs, and sides.....	69,603	61,808
Wheat
Raw cotton
Gasoline and other petroleum motor fuel, in bulk.....
Wheels of artificial abrasives
Carbon electrodes for furnace or electrolytic work
Steel sheets, black
Strip, hoop, band and scroll iron and steel.....
Casing and oil-line pipe, seamless
Wire and manufactures
Ferro-alloys
Aluminum ingots, plates, sheets, etc.....
Refined copper in ingots, bars, or other forms
Copper wire
Brass and bronze, plates and sheets.....
Industrial electric furnaces, ovens, etc.1
Internal-combustion engines
Engine accessories and parts
Construction and conveying machinery.....
Well and refinery machinery
Metalworking machinery, total
Aircraft and parts
Freight cars
REEXPORTS OF FOREIGN MERCHANDISE, TOTAL.				
Crude rubber
Refined copper and manufactures.....
Tin bars, blocks, pigs, etc.....
IMPORTS FOR CONSUMPTION, TOTAL.				
Sausage casings
Caviar and other fish roe.....
Crab meat, sauce and paste.....
Undressed furs, total
Bristles
Licorice root
Cigarette leaf, unstemmed.....
Hops
Unmanufactured flax, including tow.....
Flax fabrics
Anthracite
Manganese ore (manganese content).....
Platinum ingots, bars, etc.....
Iridium
Dead or creosote oil.....
Naphthalene solidifying at 790.....
Glycerine, crude
Ammonium sulphate

¹ Includes "parts" beginning 1939.

countries that usually supply these goods to cover the perennial shortage of heavy hides in the USSR. Probably shipping difficulties in South America caused this diversion of orders. Another item that stands out is wheat, of which 3,621,000 bushels, valued at \$2,996,000, were exported. A similar quantity was purchased in 1939. The Soviet Government has in past years frequently bought wheat in the United States or Australia, to supply the population and army in the Soviet Far East, in order to avoid the transcontinental haul of home-grown grain to that section. A third item of agricultural origin is cotton, of which 139,000 bales valued at \$7,864,000 were shipped in 1940. Although the Soviet cotton crop of over 4,000,000 bales is sufficient to cover all the requirements of the mills now operating in the USSR, even with Polish and Baltic mills included, and to export a surplus to a number of European countries unable to obtain their usual supply of American cotton, manufacturing conditions are reported by Soviet sources to call for admixture of a small portion of American fiber with the Soviet cotton to make certain grades of goods.

Conspicuous in the category of non-metallic minerals is non-aviation gasoline, of which over a million barrels, valued at \$1,850,000, were exported in 1940. This product has been purchased in about this quantity for four years; it may be assumed that it is for the use of the Far Eastern motorized vehicles and planes, which require greater quantities than can be produced by the oil field on Sakhalin Island, the only Soviet petroleum source in the East. Two items in this category show striking reductions in exports from previous years, artificial abrasive wheels and carbon electrodes for electric furnaces. It is not impossible that Soviet production of these articles is beginning to approach the country's needs for such products.

An even larger reduction has occurred in items in the metals and manufactures category, namely, black steel sheets and other rolling mill products. Until last year American exports of these goods ran to high figures, as the result of the growth of the Soviet tractor and automobile industry. Domestic manufacture, on rolling mills imported from the United States, probably accounts for this drop, and for that of wire and ferro-alloys, from the figures of pre-

vious years. The fall in exports of molybdenum ore, very high in 1939, was due to the application of a moral, later converted into an actual, embargo on shipments to the USSR. The last conspicuous item, refined copper, of either American or foreign origin, shows an astonishing rise, all since the beginning of the war in Europe. Here the impossibility of obtaining the metal from its usual sources, as the United Kingdom, Belgium, etc., has compelled the USSR to turn to the American market, where metal from both native and foreign ores was available. A shortage of copper and zinc usually made up by imports accounts also for American sales of copper wire and brass and bronze plates and sheets. Another unusual item is that of seamless casing and oil-line pipe, for the expanding Soviet petroleum industry; exports of 64,099,000 pounds, valued at \$2,485,000, are believed to represent orders placed in the United States because of the impossibility of obtaining delivery from Germany, the customary Soviet source for these goods.

American machinery has been prominent in almost all phases of the Soviet industrial expansion and hence in Soviet imports since 1928. Items under the machinery and vehicles category that in 1940 showed unusual increases in quantity and value are: Internal-combustion engines, accessories and parts (\$3,301,000); construction and conveying machinery (\$3,853,000); and oil-well and refining machinery (\$2,731,000). In the class of metalworking machinery, machine tools continued to be prominent among exports, though not as much as in 1938. Soviet domestic production of certain types of machine tools is assigned as the reason for this drop. Sheet- and plate-working machinery exports (\$2,904,000) increased over 1939 figures, but were lower than in 1938 (\$3,220,000). Rolling-mill machinery, on the other hand, ran higher (\$5,177,000) than in either 1938 or 1939.

Of the remaining export items, sales of aircraft and parts suffered a sharp reduction from those of the previous two years because of American embargo of exportation of these products to the USSR. An item of 99 freight cars, valued at \$344,000, on the other hand, represents a new classification in United States exports to the Soviet Union.

In addition to the reexports of copper refined from imported

ore, mentioned above, there were also in 1940 reexports of imported metal, \$1,287,000. Imported tin was also shipped, to a value of \$1,852,000, until an embargo was placed on the exportation of this metal.

UNITED STATES IMPORTS FROM THE USSR

While in 1940 imports for consumption into the United States from the Soviet Union reached a value of only \$22,274,000, or 0.8 per cent of all United States imports in that year, several of the items in the crude-materials category, which accounts for 86.4 per cent of imports from the USSR, are of great importance in certain American manufacturing industries. The most conspicuous of these is undressed furs (\$12,942,000 or over 50 per cent of all imports). Other important items, all of which showed reductions from previous years, are: sausage casings (\$50,000); caviar (\$86,000); crab meat (\$300,000); bristles (\$258,000); and licorice root (\$209,000). Imports of cigarette tobacco, on the other hand, have risen steadily in quantity and value for three years, to 1,631,000 pounds at \$859,000 in 1940. An item that appeared for the first time in 1939, when \$3,000 worth was imported, but increased to \$444,000 in 1940, was hops. It is reported that this product reaches the United States from Murmansk, the Soviet ice-free port on the Arctic Ocean. This ship movement would indicate that the Soviet Government has found it possible to ship goods from at least one port beside Vladivostok, in spite of war risks in the North Atlantic.

War conditions may also have accounted in 1940 for cessation of imports of anthracite coal—for many years a considerable item in American imports from the USSR. This commodity is shipped from a Black Sea port. Yet from another port on that sea shipments of manganese ore were almost continuous throughout the year, aggregating 339,000,000 pounds (manganese content) valued at \$3,948,000, an increase of 120 per cent in quantity over receipts in 1939. This gain in imports is attributed to expansion in steel production in American mills and to purchases for war stocks.

The group of flax and products shows considerable change from previous years. In 1938 manufactures of flax made up the larger part of the group in value of imports, but in 1939 imports of un-

manufactured flax began to rise and the other items to fall. In 1940 the unmanufactured fiber was practically the only item left in the group.

Other annually recurrent items of import from the Soviet Union appeared in 1940, though in reduced quantities; among these are cotton linters and rags and wastes for paper-making. Imports of chemicals, totaling \$1,163,000 in 1939, dropped to \$166,000 in 1940, and were practically limited to one item, naphthalene.

TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE USSR (January, 1941)

		<i>Quantities</i>	<i>Dollars</i>
TOTAL DOMESTIC EXPORTS			2,501,057
Sole leather	lbs.	378,561	139,391
Gasoline, other than high-grade motor fuel	bbls.	79,637	133,790
Storage batteries	cells	114	3,774
Internal combustion engines over 10 h.p.	No.	6	50,346
Engine accessories and parts			22,252
Excavators and parts			70,989
Petroleum and gas well-drilling apparatus			448,698
Power-driven metal working machinery (total)			665,744
Rolling machinery and parts			565,670
Tinplate and taggers tin	lbs.	960,601	61,916
TOTAL IMPORTS AND CONSUMPTION			2,109,604
Furs, undressed			1,701,224
Furs, dressed			8,505
Plates, mats, etc. of squirrel skins			266,416
Pine needle oil	lbs.	2,174	1,962
Cigarette leaf, unstemmed	lbs.	101,563	50,195
Hops	lbs.	22,081	8,465
Manganese ore (Gross weight)	lbs.	8,075,918	45,510
Bristles, sorted, bunched or prepared	lbs.	3,645	4,043

(Source: Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, March 18, 1941)

THE STATE BUDGET OF THE USSR

(*Gosudarstvennyi Biudzheth Soiuza SSR*, by N. N. Rovinskii and others. Gosfinizdat, Moscow, 1939, 440 pp.)

A REVIEW

This study is a textbook, written for financial and economic institutions of higher learning in the USSR. It deals primarily with the budget, as problems of state income and taxation are handled in another course. The element of control receives in it only brief consideration, also because problems of budget fulfillment form the topic of another special course. The writers of the symposium assume that advanced students, taking up a serious study of budgetary problems, have a foundation in the elements of the political economy of a socialist economy. Therefore, from the point of view of students and economists residing outside the USSR, the book introduces many a question, the answers to some of which must be sought in other Soviet studies. But, as already indicated, this book is a text for advanced Soviet students and a reference source for the Soviet budget maker in the field. As such it furnishes a very interesting picture of Soviet budgetary practices and problems.

The twenty-six chapters are grouped into four parts. In Part I we find the general framework of the budget of the USSR and an explanation of methods of allocation both of income and of expenditures as between the federal and local budgets. Part II is historical and deals with Soviet budgets at the various stages of development of the Soviet state from the October Revolution to date. Part III contains a wealth of information on budgetary financing in specific fields of the national economy. Finally, Part IV explains how budgets are drawn up and carried out. This last section is rather brief, because these particular topics are dealt with in greater detail in other courses.

For purposes of students and scholars residing outside the USSR, one may recommend that they look first at Part II. There one finds a comparison of the 1918 budget (January to June) with that of

1916, or the last budget of the Tsarist government. In the budget figures for the years 1918-1920, it is interesting to note the percentage breakdown of total expenditures. The 19.6 per cent in 1919 and 22.5 per cent in 1920 devoted to education, public health, etc., are rather startling, in view of the fact that these were the years of the Civil War, when there was an almost complete collapse of the currency. The budgetary aspects of the reconstruction years 1921-1926 are treated in a separate chapter. Three other chapters cover the budgetary system of the years when the country was being industrialized, when agriculture was being collectivized and of the last few years with socialism in operation. This part of the book traces the evolution of Soviet budgetary practices through many changes and provides the background for an understanding of the budgetary system as it exists today. The tremendous importance of sound budgetary practices was recognized by the Soviet leadership from the very beginning. On page 76, the book quotes a statement of Lenin as early as May 1918 when he said: "One should not forget that our various radical reforms are destined to fail, if we have no success in financial policies. On this last task depends the success of the enormous enterprise of the socialist reorganization of society envisaged by us."

After the historical treatment in Part II, it is advisable to return to Part I, which is in essence an expanded introduction and gives a general picture of the State budget of the USSR. This budget reflects first of all the socialist nature of the Soviet state. Industry, agriculture, transportation, foreign trade, etc., all find their place in the general budget. In this the Soviet budget differs most radically from the budgets of other states, where most of the above-mentioned activities are privately managed. For the same reason the Soviet budget approaches the total national income much closer than is the case anywhere else.

The unified State budget of the USSR includes the federal budget, the budgets of the union republics and the various local budgets. The federal budget accounts for about three-fourths of the total amount. The big problem of Soviet budgeting is how to allocate receipts and expenditures through the complex structure of union republics, autonomous republics and regions, and various

local self-governing units. A planned economy is predicated on budgetary unity and at the same time Soviet policy emphasizes independent national and regional development.

On the revenue side the Soviet budget relies heavily on the practice of tapping the source of the income rather than taxing the recipient of the income, or on what English public finance experts would call stoppage at the source. Thus social accumulation is the main source of revenue and not taxation. Great stress is also placed on pooling revenues and not allocating specific revenues to specific expenditures. In this feature the Soviet budget makers would have the fullest approval of American taxation experts, who are always fighting the tendency to attach revenues to expenditures in specific cases. Chapter 2 furnishes a description of how revenues (of all types) find their way into the federal budget, the budgets of the union republics and various local budgets, and the next chapter presents a picture of the reverse flow of funds, through expenditures. For instance, in 1939, 93.7 per cent of the budgetary expenditures for industry were included in the federal budget, while 97.5 per cent of the housing appropriations passed through the local budgets. Another important and most interesting feature is the categorizing of both revenues and expenditures in a uniform fashion in all budgets throughout the USSR, which is covered in Chapter 5, the last of Part I.

Part III of the book deals with specific budgetary problems and is likely to be the most valuable one for American readers interested in some particular branch of Soviet economic activity. Here the first chapter is devoted to a discussion of budgets of "paying concerns and enterprises." Then the book proceeds to industry; agriculture; lumber industry; Soviet trade; housing; transportation; education; public health; social insurance; state pensions; administrative expenditure, judiciary and police. For each of these fields of activity there are set forth the basic principles, the objectives and the main problems of budget practice. In this section of the book particularly, the limits that the authors of the symposium have set up for themselves, for the reason that the work is a text for only one course out of several, strike the non-Soviet reader. The credit institutions through which financing is carried out are barely touched upon.

The crucial problem of social capital accumulation is treated as a side line. The authors have set themselves the task of providing a textbook and handbook on budgets and they therefore stick to the subject. The information here presented may, however, become very valuable even to an American reader, if used in conjunction with other Soviet texts and source books. From the more general sources one learns "why" and in many reports also "how," but here is explained in detail "how" the budget operates, insofar as the accounting and bookkeeping aspects go.

The last part of the book, namely Part IV, deals with the actual making, approval and fulfillment of the budget, as well as the control over all these steps. Here the text quotes Stalin (page 375) to the effect that only bureaucrats may think that planning ends with having put a plan together. According to Stalin, planning only begins after the plan is ready; the main job consists in fulfillment of the plan and in correcting it in the process of accomplishment. In this part the text deals, among other things, with another most vital and unique Soviet problem, namely the "control by means of the ruble" and the role of the State Bank of the USSR. But here again only the technical and operative aspects are covered in detail; for a full explanation of the principles and aims of Soviet financial controls and their place in the general scope of socialist planning the reader of this book must look elsewhere. The book closes with a discussion of control or of the phase that would correspond most closely to auditing in American practices. In the Soviet Union, as in all countries outside the United States, Great Britain and its dominions, the independent professional audit is unknown. Hence, auditing is in a sense part of the general institutional structure and not an outside element that intrudes periodically. The Soviet system of auditing differs from those followed in other countries on the Continent mainly in the participation of trade unions and representatives of the population at large.

After reading a book like *The State Budget of the USSR*, one may conclude that its usefulness to the non-Soviet reader is three-fold. First, it explains in considerable detail the budgetary practices, which are not, as a rule, covered in Soviet source books. In this fashion it throws considerable light on what the figures pre-

sented elsewhere mean and how they are obtained. Second, there is a constantly growing demand for continuous series of figures portraying Soviet economic developments over a period of years. Such series of figures may be obtained largely through abstracting from various Soviet sources and the usual difficulty is to find out whether the figures thus obtained are comparable. The existence of a Soviet text on budgetary practices is likely to be helpful in some of the aspects of this problem of compilation and to facilitate the derivation of rows of data of a comparable nature. Third, the annual Soviet budgetary speeches have become a matter of interest the world over, even to the broad newspaper reading public. For interpreting and explaining Soviet budget speeches, like the one delivered by Arsenii Zverev, Commissar of Finance of the USSR, on February 25, 1941, this book will undoubtedly be of considerable value. Although all its figures refer to the 1939 budget and Zverev's speech dealt with the 1941 budget, still a detailed explanation in 440 pages of how Soviet budgets are and should be made is both timely and useful.

V. D. K.

THE SOVIET HOURS LAW

"The shortest working day in the world must become the most productive" is a slogan encountered in Soviet writings both before and after the June, 1940, changes in the length of working day and week. The slogan expresses a fundamental policy which recent legislation has not altered: to surpass labor productivity of other countries and at the same time to keep the working day shorter than elsewhere.

The eight-hour day which had been proclaimed four days after the Revolution, was a year later confirmed in the RSFSR's Code of Labor Laws which served as a model for the codes of the other Soviet republics. For Soviet workers and employees,¹ the normal working day was fixed at eight hours. Soviet writers distinguish between the normal length of the working day and the special length, which may be shorter or longer. The lengthened day is severely limited to certain seasonal work; the shorter day, ranging from 4 to 7 hours, was established for workers in certain hazardous trades, for minors, for particular groups of office employees, and others. In 1927 the tenth anniversary of the Revolution was celebrated with a federal decree setting the 7-hour day for industrial workers as a goal to be achieved gradually in the next few years. In January, 1929, the date was definitely fixed for October 1, 1933 but the transition was actually effected some months earlier. On June 26, 1940, the length of the working day was revised upward to an eight-hour maximum. It was decreed to increase the length of the working day of workers and employees in all state, cooperative and social enterprises and institutions ²

- (a) From 7 to 8 hours in places with a seven-hour working day.
- (b) From 6 to 7 hours except in professions with harmful conditions of work.
- (c) From 6 to 8 hours for employees of institutions.
- (d) From 6 to 8 hours for those over 16.

¹ Together with their families, "workers and employees" constituted 49.7% of the population as of Jan. 1, 1939. (Cf. *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*, Nov., 1940, pp. 100 ff.)

² This provision was extended to concessions and other private enterprises on the territory of the USSR by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on August 14, 1940.

In his speech (June 25, 1940) urging passage of the law, the trade union leader, Shvernik, pointed to the colossal armaments manufacture in Europe and the consequent increase in military danger for the Soviet Union. The 7- and 6-hour working day was insufficient, he maintained, to enable the Soviet Union to increase its economic and military might to meet the new international situation. While Shvernik and others sought the return to the 8-hour day, they did so in statements that showed their regret and their pride at the same time. The 7-hour day had been a lauded achievement and it was regrettable that the necessities of "the second imperialist war" stopped the downtrend in working hours. Nevertheless, they express pride that even the dangerous international situation had not caused them to exceed the eight-hour maximum, and that the normal working day set by law in the Soviet Union has never gone beyond this limit.

The June, 1940, legislation also changed the length of the working week.³ The 7-day week had been reduced in 1929 to the 5-day week for most industries and a 6-day week for the others, but in 1932 the 6-day week became the rule and the 5-day week the exception. Since June, 1940, the 7-day week, which had been retained in rural areas all these years, is to be the rule for all state, cooperative, and social enterprises. This means that the day of rest will come once in seven days instead of once in six. In this matter, too, the Soviets take pride that while the pressing need for increased labor productivity has forced them to retreat from their own high standards they are still far ahead of other countries in making a weekly rest day compulsory. While the number of Soviet rest days is thus reduced, coming 52 times a year instead of 60, there is no reduction in the annual vacation with pay, which remains two weeks with additional days for certain workers and employees (in hazardous trades, in dangerous climatic conditions, etc.). The June, 1940, legislation affects agricultural localities as well as cities, for while the former had retained the 7-day week all along, they had had certain additional holidays (January 1, March 12, and March 18 plus six more days, varying in the different parts of the country)

³ The week, as used here, includes the rest day at the end of it. Thus a six-day week means five workdays and one rest day.

which had made their work-year shorter than that of the cities. Now the whole country will have the 7-day week and the same number of holidays (six: January 22, May 1 and 2, November 7 and 8, December 5).

The legal regulation of working time is regarded as an important institution of Soviet labor law, and the 8-hour day is one of its basic principles. For the 8-hour day is conceived of as the absolute maximum working time which meets the demands of worker health protection and cultural advance. "The eight-hour day is the limit of working time preserving workers from excessive labor and fully assuring the satisfaction of their physical and intellectual needs."⁴ Closely bound up with the principle of the 8-hour day is the pivotal aim of eliminating the difference between mental and physical labor, of raising the cultural level of the working class to the level of those engaged in engineering-technical work. Only by leaving the worker time and energy to study, Soviet writers say, can this bridge from socialism to communism be crossed and the "transfer of the whole Soviet people into the intelligentsia"⁵ be accomplished. The 8-hour day is an instrument, then, whereby good health is maintained and adult education forges ahead. The census figures on literacy and level of education (cf. *American Quarterly of the Soviet Union*, November, 1940) and data on the population's utilization of cultural opportunities (cf. statistical tables in *Kulturnoe Stroitelstvo*, Moscow, 1940) would indicate that progress is being made in this direction.

With the 8-hour day for the majority of workers and employees, and 7 and 6 and even fewer for certain categories (night work, hazardous trades, etc.)⁶ and 4 hours retained for minors between 14 and 16 (to work at all, they need special permission), a week of six work days and one compulsory rest day, with daily rest periods, and

⁴ Alexandrov, N., *Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo i Pravo*, No. 8-9, 1940. "The study of fatigue is one of the problems which has received most sustained attention." R. A. McFarland and S. S. Schultz, "Industrial Psychology in the Soviet Union," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, June, 1935.

⁵ V. Paukova, an authority on the subject, writing in *Izvestia*, March 4, 1939.

⁶ On July 1, 1940, *Sovnarkom* issued a list of occupations in which the shorter work-day is mandatory. In the hundreds of jobs listed (four columns of *Pravda*, July 4), 6 hours is the workday set for most, with 5 and 4 for the most hazardous, in Roentgen laboratories, radium institutes, etc.

limitation of overtime, the paid annual vacations, pregnancy leaves, etc., the Soviet codes of labor law are preserving the principles enunciated by the Geneva Congress in 1866 and the draft convention of the International Labor Organization in 1919. But the recent legislation is definitely regarded by the Soviets as temporary, with the 8-hour day to be discarded when international conditions permit them to continue to lower hours in accordance with rise in labor productivity. It is of no little significance that in a recent Soviet publication, the 6-hour normal working day was still stressed as their objective.⁷

R.M.S.

⁷ Alexandrov, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

DOCUMENTS



TEXT OF EDICT OF PRESIDIUUM OF SUPREME SOVIET OF USSR

On the Procedure of Obligatory Transfer of Engineers, Technicians, Foremen, Employees and Skilled Workers from One Enterprise or Institution to Another.

The problem of securing skilled forces for new plants, factories, mines, construction jobs and transport services, as well as for enterprises undertaking the production of new lines, demands the correct distribution of engineers, technicians, foremen, employees and skilled workers among the different enterprises and the transfer of industrial personnel from enterprises possessing skilled forces to enterprises experiencing a shortage of them.

The existing situation, under which the People's Commissariats do not have the right of obligatory transfer of engineers, employees and skilled workers from one enterprise to another, is an obstacle to the development of the national economy.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR decrees:

1. To invest the People's Commissars of the USSR with the right of obligatory transfer of engineers, designers, technicians, foremen, draftsmen, bookkeepers, economists, accountants and planning personnel, as well as skilled workers of the sixth category and up, from one enterprise or institution to another, regardless of the territorial location of the institutions or enterprises.

2. The transfer of engineers, employees and skilled workers, in accordance with this Edict, to employment in other localities must in no way lead to any material loss to the person transferred. To establish in this connection that the People's Commissariat is obligated to pay the person transferred: a) the traveling expenses for himself and members of his family to the new place of employment; b) the cost of transporting his effects; c) a daily allowance while en route; d) wages while en route, plus an additional six days; e) lump sum assistance for setting up home in the new place to the amount of three or four months' wages (depending upon the district) at the former place of work for the person transferred and one-quarter of his monthly earnings for each member of his family who moves to his new place of employment.

3. To establish that engineers, employees and skilled workers transferred from one enterprise to another in the same locality are to preserve their record of continuous service (*stazh*) and those transferred to other localities are to have one year added to their record.

4. To establish that directors of enterprises and heads of institutions are obligated to release from their enterprise or institution wives of engineers, employees and skilled workers transferred to other localities in accordance with the present Edict.

5. Persons failing to carry out the instructions of the People's Commissar on their obligatory transfer to another enterprise or institution are to be regarded as having left the enterprise or institution without permission and are committed for trial in accordance with Article 5 of the Edict of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of June 26, 1940, on prohibiting workers and employees from leaving enterprises or institutions without permission.

6. To cancel, as of October 20, 1940, contracts concluded for a specified time by People's Commissariats and enterprises with the engineers, employees and skilled workers enumerated in Article I of the present Edict, and to permit the People's Commissars of the USSR to retain these engineers, employees and skilled workers at the enterprise where they are at present employed on contract.

M. KALININ,

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

A. GORKIN,

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

The Kremlin, Moscow, October 19, 1940.

NEWS CHRONOLOGY

Newspapers are named primarily for convenient reference, although the same items may appear in other newspapers. The date given is the date on which the event occurred, while the number in parenthesis following the name of the newspaper indicates the date of the paper in which the report appeared.

(N.Y.T.—New York Times; N.Y.H.T.—New York Herald Tribune; D.W.—Daily Worker.)

*The texts of decrees, treaties, etc., referred to in the items marked with an asterisk are available in full at the office of the American Russian Institute.



INTERNAL AFFAIRS

ADMINISTRATION

January

- 7—M. S. Smetanin is relieved of his job as Vice-Commissar of Light Industry and A. M. Redkin is shifted from his post as Vice-Commissar of Shipbuilding to membership in the Council of Defense Industries.—*N.Y.H.T.* (8)
- 16—136 deputies were elected on January 12 to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from the Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Moldavian Republics and the Izmail and Czernowitz regions of the Ukrainian SSR.—*D.W.* (17)

February

- 3—By decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs is divided into the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs with Lavrenti Beria as Commissar and the People's Commissariat for State Security with Vsevolod Merkulov as Commissar. At the same time, Beria is appointed Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.—*TASS* (3)

March

- 2—The Supreme Soviet of the USSR approves the 1941 budget of 216,052,224,000 rubles, of which 70,865,000,000 rubles are appropriated for defense.—*N.Y.T.* (2)

March

- 6—P. N. Goremykin is named Commissar of Military Supplies, replacing I. P. Sergeev.—*N.Y.T.* (7)

DEFENSE

January

- 1—It is reported that Vice-Commissar of Defense E. A. Shchadenko is removed from his post.—*N.Y.H.T.* (2)
- 4—Defense Commissar Timoshenko orders strict economy in the use of gasoline and oil by the Red Army in order to build up reserves of fuel.—*N.Y.H.T.* (5)
- 30—In an editorial dealing with the coming 23rd anniversary of the Red Army, *Pravda* notes that Red Army training and activity has now "reached maximum approximation to the real conditions of warfare," since the recent reorganizational change.—*D.W.* (31)

February

- 3—Marshal Voroshilov's sixtieth birthday is celebrated throughout the USSR, and he is awarded the Order of Lenin.—*N.Y.T.* (4)
- 12—General G. K. Zhukov is named Chief of Staff of the Red Army and Vice-Commissar of Defense, replacing General K. A. Meretskov. The latter is made chief of the combat training

- service and retains his post as a Vice-Commissar of Defense.—*N.Y.T.* (13)
- 23—The twenty-third anniversary of the Red Army is marked in the Soviet Union with speeches by leading military and naval figures. Emphasis in their speeches is on Soviet preparedness for any foe and the increased strength of the army and navy.—*N.Y.H.T.* (24)

ECONOMIC LIFE

January

- 12—A widespread reorganization and expansion of local industries is decreed in order to increase the production of consumers' goods and food products from local materials.—*N.Y.T.* (13)

February

- 15—The XVIIIth All-Union Conference of the Communist Party opens in Moscow to discuss the problems of industry, transport and organization.—*N.Y.T.* (16)
- 16—G. Malenkov, Secretary of the Communist Party, delivers a speech on the growth of production in the Soviet Union and outlining the problems to be solved for the achievement of even greater results.—*N.Y.H.T.* (17)
- 19—Chairman of the Council of the Defense Industry and of the State Planning Commission N. A. Voznesensky reports to the Party Conference on industry and production for 1940 and plans for 1941.—*N.Y.H.T.* (20)
- 22—The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in plenary sessions charges the State Planning Commission with the task of laying out a general fifteen-year plan for the USSR.—*D.W.* (23)

MISCELLANEOUS

January

- 10—Two Soviet balloonists claim a new world's record for stratosphere ascensions in an open gondola. They rose to an altitude of 36,300 feet.—*N.Y.T.* (19)

- 25—Foreign diplomats in Moscow are shown new stereoscopic motion pictures.—*N.Y.H.T.* (26)

February

- 9—The Institute of Experimental Physiology in Moscow announces that it has restored life to a number of dogs that had been dead from 15 to 40 minutes.—*N.Y.H.T.* (10)
- 19—Communist Party membership is now 2,515,481, with 1,361,404 candidates, an increase of 1,399,319 in the two categories since March, 1939.—*TASS* (19)
- 21—Changes are announced in the membership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and warnings are issued to members holding important administrative posts. Voznesensky, Shcherbakov and Malenkov are made alternate members of the Politburo.—*N.Y.H.T.* (22)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

EUROPE

January

- 3—A Bulgarian official denies a Rumanian report that Soviet and German troops had arrived in Bulgaria.—*N.Y.H.T.* (4)
- 4—A wireless from Sofia states that thousands of petitions and letters are being sent by workers and by the agricultural population to the Bulgarian King and the government urging that the country stay out of the war and that a pact be signed with the USSR to ensure peace and neutrality.—*D.W.* (5)
- 5—Soviet Ministers to Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Hungary leave for a conference in Moscow on the German penetration of the Balkans. At the same time, it is reported from Soviet circles in Bucharest that Moscow has already warned Germany against a "step which might seriously affect good relations between the two countries."—*N.Y.H.T.* (6)

- 6—It is reported from Berlin that Germany and the Soviet Union have extended to August, 1942, existing agreements covering payments for commodities exchanged.—*N.Y.T.* (7)
- 6—The Director of the Central European Division of the Soviet Commissariat of Foreign Affairs arrives in Sofia with the title of first counselor of the Soviet Embassy there.—*N.Y.T.* (7)
- 7—TASS issues a denial that the Soviet Minister to Bucharest has been recalled.—*N.Y.H.T.* (8)
- 10—The Soviet Union and Germany sign three accords—a trade pact regulating trade between the two countries until August, 1942 and calling for the exchange of Soviet raw materials, oil products and foodstuffs for German industrial equipment; an agreement on the settlement of mutual property claims concerning Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and on the exchange of nationals; a treaty on the Soviet-German frontier from the River Igorka to the Baltic Sea.—*N.Y.T.* (11)
- 10—TASS denies a United Press dispatch from Bucharest reporting that nine Soviet warships approached Rumanian territorial waters in the vicinity of Sulina.—*D.W.* (11)
- 12—TASS issues a denial that the Soviet Government had knowledge of or had given consent to the occupation of Bulgaria by Germany or the dispatching of German troops there. It denies also that Bulgaria ever approached the Soviet Government with an inquiry regarding the passage of German troops in that country.—*N.Y.T.* (13)
- 14—It is estimated that 57,000 people will be repatriated into Germany from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, in accordance with the Soviet-German pact signed Jan. 10.—*N.Y.T.* (15)
- 16—Soviet sources in London deny that the USSR is building or buying 200 merchant ships.—*N.Y.H.T.* (17)
- 20—A Swiss trade delegation arrives in Moscow.—*N.Y.T.* (21)
- 21—TASS denies a Norwegian story that the Soviet Embassy staff in Bulgaria was fired for inefficiency.—*D.W.* (22)
- 28—Kuusinen, in a speech at Petrozavodsk states that the Finnish Government is persecuting the Society for Peace and Friendship with USSR.—*N.Y.H.T.* (29)
- 30—Agrarian and Communist Deputies in Sofia urge a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.T.* (31)
- 31—Ambassador Maisky protests to the British Foreign Office against the detention by British warships of a Greek vessel off Falkland Islands and the sequestration of part of the cargo of hides, leather and wool bound for Vladivostok from Buenos Aires.—*N.Y.T.* (Feb. 1)

February

- 4—TASS denies a foreign press report that the Soviet Union had secretly agreed to arm Turkey to counteract possible German activity in the Balkans and that a Turkish commission was going to Moscow for the purchase of armaments.—*N.Y.H.T.* (5)
- 10—It is reported from Sofia that the Soviet's special envoy to Bulgaria, Arkady Sobolev, had informed the Bulgarian Government that the Soviet Union would not interfere if Germany demanded passage of her troops through Bulgaria.—*N.Y.H.T.* (11)
- 11—A number of Bulgarian deputies who advocated a policy of dependence on the Soviet Union for the defense of Bulgaria visit Prime Minister Philoff for a clarification of Bulgarian foreign relations.—*N.Y.H.T.* (12)
- 11—A Belgian trade delegation including German representatives arrive in

- Moscow reportedly to arrange for the exchange of industrial equipment for food.—*N.Y.T.* (12)
- 13—Turkey ridicules a Japanese report on the same day that the Soviet fleet was assembling at the Bosphorus; and further states that nothing is known of Soviet troops massing near the Turkish border.—*N.Y.T.* (14)
- 14—From Sofia it is reported that the Soviet Minister to Bulgaria has stated that the Soviet policy (*vis-à-vis* the German-Bulgarian situation) is one of peace and non-interference in the internal affairs of any other country.—*N.Y.T.* (14)
- 14—It is announced that direct railway connections between Hungary and the Soviet Union will be opened, on March 15, for the first time since the World War.—*N.Y.T.* (15)
- 17—Bulgaria and Turkey sign a Treaty of Friendship "without prejudice to their obligations in treaties with other countries."—*N.Y.T.* (18)
- 17—Turkish sources are quoted as saying that other Balkan countries and probably England, Germany and the Soviet Union were consulted before the Bulgarian-Turkish treaty was signed.—*N.Y.T.* (19)
- 22—Authoritative Dutch quarters state that export permits allow the Soviet Union to import only enough oils for her own needs. This information is given out in reply to British protests that Dutch vegetable oils may be reaching Germany via Vladivostok.—*N.Y.H.T.* (23)
- 23—TASS denies a Swiss newspaper report that the recently signed Bulgarian-Turkish non-aggression pact had the Soviets' active assistance.—*N.Y.T.* (23)
- 24—As the British Legation in Sofia prepares to evacuate from Bulgaria, reports are circulated that the Soviet Government has notified the Balkan countries that she does not intend to intervene in the Balkans in any way that may cause armed conflict with Germany.—*N.Y.T.* (25)
- 24—A Swiss-Soviet trade agreement—the first since the Revolution—is signed. The pact calls for the exchange of Swiss machine tools, electric equipment, turbines, hydraulic press, steam boilers and precision instruments for Soviet grain, timber, cotton and oil.—*N.Y.T.* (25)
- 25—It is reported from Belgrade that the Soviets are leasing quays in Budapest for their shipping between Budapest and Odessa when traffic is free to move with the clearing of the Danube River ice.—*N.Y.T.* (26)
- 26—Rumania and the Soviet Union sign a two-year treaty of commerce and navigation. The trade agreement calls for most-favored-nation treatment on both sides and provides for the exchange of Rumanian high-test gasoline, mineral oils and industrial products for Soviet manganese, cotton and raw materials.—*N.Y.T.* (27)
- 26—It is reported from Switzerland that British Ambassador to the Soviet Union Sir Stafford Cripps is to join British Foreign Secretary Eden and General Dill in Turkey to discuss the Soviet attitude on recent Balkan developments.—*N.Y.T.* (27)
- 27—In a discussion with a correspondent on the point that Bulgaria's relations with Germany would be influenced by the fact that the latter was instrumental in getting the Southern Dobruja for Bulgaria from Rumania, British Minister to Bulgaria George Rendel states that Bulgaria received the Southern Dobruja directly because of the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.T.* (28)
- 27—*Krasnaia Zvezda* comments that a struggle is being waged between Germany and Britain for the remaining

neutral Balkan countries.—*N.Y.H.T.*
(28)

March

2—In a speech before Parliament on ratification of Bulgaria's adherence to the Axis Pact, Premier Philoff makes the statement that Bulgaria's relations with the Soviet Union remain unchanged.—*N.Y.T.* (3)

2—Hungary and the Soviet Union sign an agreement, establishing the first direct rail communication between Moscow and Budapest.—*N.Y.T.* (3)

3—The Soviet Government sends a note to Bulgaria stating: "In reply to the communication of the Bulgarian Government, conveyed March 1 of this year through the USSR Minister in Bulgaria, Lavridev, by the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Altynoff, to the effect that the Bulgarian Government had agreed to the dispatch of German troops to Bulgaria and that this action pursues peace aims in the Balkans, the Soviet Government deems it necessary to state that:

"First, the Soviet Government cannot share the opinion of the Bulgarian Government as to the correctness of the latter's position in this matter, since the position, irrespective of the desire of the Bulgarian Government, does not lead to consolidation of peace but to the extension of the sphere of the war and to Bulgaria's being involved in it.

"Second, in view of this the Soviet Government, true to its policy of peace, cannot render any support to the Bulgarian Government in application of its present policy. The Soviet Government is compelled to make the present statement, especially in view of the fact that the Bulgarian press freely circulates rumors fundamentally misrepresenting the real position of the USSR."—*N.Y.T.* (4)

4—It is reported from diplomatic circles in Sofia that the Germans are urging Turkey to renounce her alliance with Great Britain and to sign up with Germany, as the one country that could protect Turkey against the historic designs of Russia." They also mentioned the fact that Germany promised Rumania, in return for her cooperation, the return of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina.—*N.Y.H.T.*
(5)

5—It is reported from Belgrade that the Rumanian Premier Antonescu rushed to confer with Goering in Vienna, as a result of a Soviet ultimatum to Rumania for cession to the USSR of naval base son the Black Sea.—*N.Y.T.*
(6)

5—In the annual report presented to the Finnish Parliament, the Foreign Minister states that Soviet-Finnish relations have been brought back to normal.—*N.Y.T.* (6)

7—A Norwegian trade commission arrives in Moscow.—*N.Y.T.* (8)

7—TASS issues a denial of the report that the Soviet Government demanded from Rumania the cession of naval bases on the Black Sea, as reported in the foreign press.—*N.Y.T.*
(6)

8—Premier Antonescu reveals that Hitler, Mussolini and Goering have been given veto power over all Rumanian economic agreements with foreign countries.—*N.Y.H.T.* (9)

11—Unofficial sources in Ankara says that Molotov has given assurances to the Turkish Ambassador in Moscow that if Turkey enters the war the Soviet Union will not attack her.—*N.Y.H.T.*
(12)

BALTIC AFFAIRS

January

8—The Council of People's Commissars of the Lithuanian Republic decrees that Lithuanian agricultural laborers

and working peasantry be exempted from arrears in taxes, levies and fines as of January 1, 1940.—*D.W.* (9)

- 12—The Latvian Council of People's Commissars cancels all old debts, mortgages, taxes and accumulated assessments charged against farmers.—*D.W.* (13)

February

- 13—A Swedish Commission arrives in Moscow to negotiate for the settlement of property claims in connection with the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Republics.—*D.W.* (15)

FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

January

- Dec. 26—American, British and Soviet Ambassadors to Chungking are reported to have advised Chiang Kai-shek against the renewal of civil strife, as trouble is reported between the 4th Route Army and the Kuomintang.—*N.Y.H.T.* (Jan. 7)
- 4—The second part of a general Soviet-Chinese Trade Pact is signed, calling for the exchange of Chinese wool for Soviet machinery and military supplies. The first part was signed on December 11.—*N.Y.H.T.* (5)
- 12—The third part of a Soviet-Chinese trade pact is signed providing for the exchange of Chinese minerals for Soviet military machinery and supplies.—*N.Y.T.* (13)
- 20—The Soviet Union extends the fisheries agreement with Japan for 1941, with the provision for a rent increase of 20 per cent. At the same time, a dispute over the execution of a contract by the Matsuo dockyard of Nagasaki to build three freighters for the Soviets is settled.—*N.Y.T.* (21)
- 21—In a review of foreign policy before the Japanese Diet, Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka speaks of his country's desire to remove mutual Japanese-Soviet misunderstandings and states: "some of these pending issues

are now well on the way to settlement."—*N.Y.T.* (21)

February

- 3—A Japanese-Soviet Commission is appointed to work out a new fisheries convention.—*TASS* (3)
- 9—A Japanese foreign affairs expert outlines the mutual advantages for Japan and the Soviet Union in closer economic relations, as a result of the war and the concomitant closing of trade routes and sources of supply.—*N.Y.T.* (9)
- 9—It is reported from Shanghai that the Burma Road has been reduced to virtual uselessness by Japanese bombings.—*N.Y.T.* (10)
- 9—Indications that Japan is willing to conclude a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union are given in Shanghai reports that the Japanese are acceding to alleged Soviet demands that White Russian and anti-Soviet organizations in Manchukuo be curbed.—*N.Y.T.* (10)
- 10—It is reported that new negotiations between the Soviet Union and Japan for a trade treaty are to begin soon.—*N.Y.H.T.* (11)
- 14—The newly-appointed Japanese Ambassador to Germany states that close Soviet-Japanese relations are a logical consequence of Soviet-German relations and necessary to the construction of a new world order.—*N.Y.H.T.* (15)
- 17—Formal conversations for a trade treaty between Japan and the Soviet Union are opened in Moscow.—*N.Y.T.* (18)
- 20—News of the arrival in Moscow of Colonel Montri, Assistant Minister of Education, the first Thai diplomat to visit the Soviet Union since the Revolution is given prominence in the Soviet press. He is said to be in the USSR to negotiate diplomatic and commercial relations.—*N.Y.T.* (21)

20—It is denied in "semi-official" circles in Chungking that the Soviet Government has demanded that the Chungking Government's attitude toward the Chinese Communists be defined.—*N.Y.T.* (21)

21—The Chinese Foreign Minister, Wang Chung-hui, states that Soviet Russia's aid to Chiang Kai-shek will continue unabated and that he doubts the Soviet Union will sign an agreement with Japan that would modify Soviet relations with China.—*N.Y.H.T.* (22)

27—It is reported from Tokyo that the Soviets are limiting through tickets to Europe via Siberia from Japan to travelers going to the Soviet Union, Germany, Sweden, or Italy.—*N.Y.H.T.* (28)

March

8—It is reported from Tokyo that Foreign Minister Matsuoka is planning to visit Moscow and Berlin during which he reportedly hopes to conclude a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union and to clarify relations with Japan's Axis partner.—*N.Y.T.* (9)

12—Thailand and the Soviet Union exchange notes establishing diplomatic relations.—*N.Y.H.T.* (14)

UNITED STATES AFFAIRS

January

3—U.S. officials are told that the British Minister of Economic Welfare has expressed concern that shipments of American cotton and scrap rubber to the Soviet Union constitute a "leak" in the British blockade of Germany.—*N.Y.T.* (4)

3—It is stated in U.S. Government circles that the amount of cotton going to the USSR could not seriously affect the course of the war and that it was being permitted to leave this country in the effort to keep the Soviet Union

from openly joining the Axis side.—*N.Y.T.* (4)

3—In appealing for funds to continue the work of his committee Martin Dies states that he will prove that money is being transferred from the accounts of the Soviets to the accounts of Germany and that "the Soviet Government is using its position in this country to aid the German, Italian and Japanese Governments under agreements that probably were made prior to the war." The Chase National Bank issued the following statement in this connection: "The Chase National Bank has accounts from the leading banks of practically every country in the world. In the regular course of business, there are many transactions by and between these banks. The transactions referred to are presumably of this character."—*N.Y.T.* (4)

7—A survey of the Bureau of Mines of the U.S. Dept. of the Interior states that the Soviet Union has become the third largest purchaser of American copper since the war broke out.—*N.Y.T.* (8)

8—Conversations are again held between U.S. Under-Secretary of State Welles and Soviet Ambassador Oumansky.—*N.Y.T.* (9)

18—U.S. Secretary of State Hull states in a press conference that he does not believe any substantial supply of goods was going from South America to Soviet Pacific ports for possible re-shipment to Germany.—*N.Y.T.* (19)

18—An executive order is drawn up freezing all foreign assets in the United States, and awaits the president's signature. Before the outbreak of the war, USSR holdings were estimated at \$1,000,000,000.—*N.Y.T.* (19)

21—The U.S. State Department announces the lifting of President Roosevelt's "moral embargo" on the USSR. How-

ever, all the articles covered by the embargo — airplanes, aeronautical equipment—are subject to the export license system.—*N.Y.H.T.* (22)

28—British Minister of Economic Warfare Hugh Dalton tells the House of Commons that he has ample evidence that the Soviet Union is exporting her own goods to Germany and replacing them in the United States. U.S. Secretary of State Hull questions Hugh Dalton's figures for American exports of cotton to the USSR and states that this amount is comparatively small. He says further, in the same press conference, that the lifting of the "moral embargo" on the Soviet Union was done more for psychological effect than anything else since those articles which came under the embargo are now under the export licensing system.—*N.Y.H.T.* (29)

31—It is announced that the Tanners Council of America had agreed that "important tanners . . . would not undertake large-scale exports while such leather (sole leather) might be needed by the United States government for its defense program." This unofficial step is taken with a view to halting the export of American supplies to the Soviet Union. It is reported in these trade circles that Great Britain has objected to the sale of sole leather to the Soviet Union as an aid to Germany's war effort.—*N.Y.H.T.* (Feb. 2)

February

1—The U.S. Treasury Department liberalizes the frozen fund control, permitting larger remittances to persons living in the countries affected. These include Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.—*N.Y.T.* (2)

3—Six new commodities—copper, brass, bronze, zinc, nickel, potash—are added to the licensing system, as of a

Presidential proclamation of January 10. The Soviet Union was the third largest purchaser of American copper last year.—*N.Y.H.T.* (4)

3—In a press conference, Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles gives the Soviet Union a clean bill of health as far as reports from Mexico City that the Soviet Union is planning an attack on Alaska are concerned.—*N.Y.T.* (4)

4—President Roosevelt states at a press conference that oil-well drilling and refining machinery, calf skins, radium and uranium ore are to come under the licensing system as of February 10. This move is made to prevent American supplies from reaching Germany by way of the Soviet Union whose purchases of these commodities had increased greatly during the past year.—*N.Y.H.T.* (5)

5—It is reported in trade circles in Washington that the Soviet Union is purchasing large quantities of coconut oil and copra in this country and the Philippines for trans-shipment to Germany.—*N.Y.T.* (6)

6—Kalinin sends congratulations to President Roosevelt on his inauguration for a third term.—*N.Y.T.* (7)

7—An amendment to the Lend-Lease Bill, HR 1776, to exclude the Soviet Union from receiving aid under this bill, is defeated in the House of Representatives.—*W.T.* (8)

7—The Maritime Commission approves the chartering of two American cargo ships by the Amtorg Trading Corporation for one trip each from New York to Vladivostok. The cargoes are to consist mainly of machinery, railway dump cars, and woolen rags.—*N.Y.H.T.* (8)

8—*Pravda* calls the Mexican report of an invasion of Alaska by the Soviet Union a case of "delirium tremens." —*N.Y.T.* (9)

- 9—A New York TASS dispatch is published in the Moscow press quoting Ambassador Dodd's Diary to the effect that former Ambassador to the USSR William C. Bullitt "seemingly approved unlimited aggression against the Soviet Union in the East as well as the West," and that several attempts had been made by both American and British politicians to provoke a clash between Germany and the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.T.* (10)
- 12—Large metal drums and containers for transporting crude oil and gasoline are to be put under the export licensing system as of February 15.—*N.Y.H.T.* (13)
- 13—The Soviets are purchasing cocoa, vegetable oil, and tropical woods through the Amtorg Trading Corporation in New York. These items were formerly purchased through London.—*N.Y.T.* (13)
- 20—The Post Office Department in Washington discloses that it has seized and burned 15 tons of printed material coming largely from Germany and the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.H.T.* (24)
- 24—Reports from Washington state that diplomatic discussions between the USSR and the United States are not faring well, and the Soviets' inability to purchase machine tools and other equipment in this country, due to the stringencies of the export licensing system, is given as the most important factor.—*N.Y.T.* (25)
- 27—Diplomatic conversations between Under-Secretary of State Welles and Soviet Ambassador Oumansky are resumed.—*N.Y.T.* (28)
- 27—It is reported from San Francisco that Soviet gold bullion valued at about \$12,000,000 and a cargo of valuable furs arrived the day before from Vladivostok.—*N.Y.T.* (28)
- 28—Former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, William C. Bullitt, speaking before the Overseas Press Club in

New York, makes an attack on the Soviet Union.—*N.Y.H.T.* (28)

March

- 1—A State Department announcement states that Ambassador Oumansky has given Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles assurances that Soviet purchases in this country are being used exclusively for Soviet domestic needs.—*N.Y.T.* (2)
- 1—Soviet Ambassador Oumansky protests to the State Department against the seizure of mail coming to this country from the USSR; the protest was made largely on the grounds that some of the materials being withheld are official Soviet publications, such as *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.—*N.Y.T.* (2)
- 4—The State Department announces that it has protested to the Soviet Government against the alleged pillaging of the American Catholic Church in Moscow.—*N.Y.T.* (5)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS— GENERAL

January

- 1—It is reported over the British Broadcasting System that Stalin has warned his people to be in a state of "mobile preparedness" in view of the international situation.—*N.Y.T.* (2)
- 3—TASS issues a denial of a British report that Stalin had commented on the international situation in the Soviet press.—*N.Y.T.* (4)
- 10—It is reported from Buenos Aires that a Soviet trade mission is en route there.—*N.Y.T.* (11)
- 11—TASS calls American and British statesmen "jugglers of international law," who think that the Soviet Union violates neutrality by trading with Germany, while the United States sells everything including warships to Britain and does not consider that a violation of neutrality.—*TASS* (11)

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Books

Gurko, V. I., *Features and Figures of the Past: Government and Opinion in the Reign of Nicholas II*. Stanford University Press, California, 1939. 760 pp. \$6.00.

Gankin, Olga, and H. H. Fisher, *The Bolsheviks and the World War: The Origin of the Third International*. Stanford University Press, California, 1940. 856 pp. \$6.00.

These two books, Publications 14 and 15 of the Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace, supplement each other. The first, written by Vladimir Gurko, who was Assistant Minister of Interior under Nicholas II and who until his death in Paris in 1927 "continued his active support of the White cause," traces events from the death of Alexander III to mid-1916, largely in terms of noted government personalities. The other which makes available in English "a collection of documents on the origin of the Third or Communist International," traces the development of the Bolshevik position on the war and identifies leading political figures. A lengthy index and bibliographical data can be found at the end of each volume.—R.M.S.

Kuno, Yoshi, S., *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent*. Vol. II. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1940. 416 pp. \$4.00.

In this second volume of Kuno's study, the only part dealing with

Russia is Chapter VII, entitled "The Approach of Russia to Japan from the North and Japan's Reaction." This gives a detailed account of the few scattered contacts of Russian travelers with Japan from 1789 to the establishment of commercial relations between the two countries in 1855, after Admiral Perry had forced the door to Japan. The author emphasizes Japanese fear of Russian expansion even in that early period and the reaction to it which led some Japanese leaders to lay schemes for Japanese conquest northward to Kamchatka at a time when knowledge of geography in that area was still very vague. The author asserts that "the nation that surprised and awakened Japan from her long sleep was neither England nor the United States, as is generally believed, but Russia."—H.L.M.

Strong, Anna Louise, *The New Lithuania*, Workers Library Publishers, New York, 64 pp. 10c.

An eye-witness account of the June-July, 1940, events in one of the Baltic states. Provides insight into the methods and moods that brought a trainload of Sejm delegates to Moscow to ask the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to admit Lithuania as a union republic.—R.M.S.

Manual Slavonic Personalities (Past and Present). Compiled and Edited by Vlaho S. Vlahovic, Slavonic Press, 152 West 42 Street, N.Y.C., 96 pp., \$1.00.

For the purpose of impressing Slavs in America with "The outstanding personalities of their own race," Vlahovic has listed the name, dates, and professions of Ukrainians, Serbs, Croats, Czechs and other Slavs who have made their mark in the last 1,600 years. The brief pages do not pretend to be inclusive and under these circumstances some indication of the basis of selection would have been welcome. While admittedly a modest venture, the list has some easily avoided inadequacies. Spelling could have been simplified by following one consistent system, Library of Congress or some other. Dates such as that of Gorky's death could easily have been checked. Strange descriptions, such as that of Sholokhov, "Russian romantist," could have been avoided. The use of the word "Soviet" in parentheses is puzzling, for while Shostakovich and Pavlov are so designated, Sholokhov and Gorky are not. Nonetheless, since biographical information, giving correct spelling of difficult Slavic names, is so scarce, Mr. Vlahovic's efforts are to be commended.—R.M.S.

The World Almanac, 1941, The World Telegram, New York City, 960 pp., 60c.

In the four and a half pages on the USSR, the Almanac gives brief data on its geography, state structure, social composition, educational set-up, budget, military arrangements, agricultural and industrial development. Account was not taken of some recent changes, such as the creation of a Commissariat of Control to succeed the Soviet Control Committee. Also, the description of the formation of the republics is not quite accurate (Cf. *The American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*, November, 1940, pp. 101-104). It is not made clear that the age and literacy percentages cited are the January 1939 census returns and exclude the twenty-three million added to the Soviet population since that date. (Cf., *ibid.*, pp. 97-100.)—R.M.S.

Economic Review of Foreign Countries 1939 and Early 1940. United States Department of Commerce, Washington, 1941, 361 pp.

In an eighteen page section, "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," a summary is given of Soviet developments in 1939 and the beginning of the next year. While generally useful and detailed in coverage, the report suffers in places from internal inconsistency. After citing increased government expenditures in 1939 on social insurance, education, and medical care during the year, and emphasizing that such services "must be regarded as an important part of a worker's wage" (p. 50), the report declares that "labor in the Soviet Union . . . did not improve its situation in 1939" (p. 47) and that "wages in the lowest paid categories . . . have less purchasing power than ever" (p. 48). The conclusion becomes even more questionable when it is evident that the claim that "prices on necessities have risen through 1939" (p. 48) must have been grounded on only one or two items, for even on the basis of the table of privately gathered Moscow prices of foodstuffs listed on p. 55, bread, sugar, flour, cocoa, sausage, cheese are indicated as stable in 1939 over 1938. Among the minor corrections that could be made is one concerning the statement that "no quantity figures of crop production have been published" (p. 42). A general figure of 6.5 billion poods was given for the 1939 grain crop in *Pravda* (editorial), January 18, 1940, and a 1940 figure showing almost half a billion increase is mentioned by Kalinin in his November speech. Despite faults of this kind and the occasional reliance on "there is undeniable evidence" (p. 43) as a substitute for documentation to support broad statements, the report is in large part a concise and informative summary which, not because of the nature of its imprimatur alone, can be regarded as authoritative.—R.M.S.

Announcement

THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW

Beginning with the current year, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, founded and hitherto published by the School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies of the University of London, has been transferred to a committee of American scholars and will be published in the United States for the duration of the war. Should the journal be returned to England upon the conclusion of hostilities, it will be continued in the United States by an independent American journal of Slavic studies.

The first issue of the American edition will be a single volume of 352 pages, to be published about October 1, 1941, but it is planned to produce two single issues in 1942 before returning to a quarterly basis in 1943. The editorial staff consists of Professor S. H. Cross (Harvard University), Managing Editor; Professors P. E. Mosely (Cornell University) and S. Harrison Thomson (University of Colorado).

Inquiries and contributions should be addressed to Prof. Cross at 545 Widener Library, Cambridge, Mass.

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